

## Industrialists vow to force change in government policy

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**  
TEL AVIV. — Israel's industrialists resolved yesterday not to participate in government-initiated trade delegations and to boycott all trade fairs in Israel or abroad, sponsored by the Export Institute. The moves were in protest against current economic policies. The Ministry of Industry and Trade angrily denounced the move and said it would harm the exporters themselves more than anyone else. Representatives of all the industrialists took part in yesterday's meeting at Industry House here, with the exception of the heads of government companies.

The participants at the meeting bitterly condemned government policies which, they said, had resulted in the 24 per cent drop in industrial exports and the 11 per cent drop in agricultural exports in March. They agreed it was part of an accelerating trend that would lead to mass unemployment.

Apart from the boycott of trade

fairs and delegations, the participants adopted a number of resolutions which they kept secret for the time being. These are aimed at pressuring the government to change its policies.

The speakers, who included delegates from private, Histadrut, kibbutz and moshav concerns, charged that the basic problem was the government's artificial slowing-down of the devaluation of the shekel. This had led to an effective upward valuation of the shekel of 37 per cent in real terms during the past 15 months, compared to the "basket of currencies."

This had wiped out the profitability of exporting, and priced exports out of foreign markets. On the other hand, it had made imports so cheap that they were destroying the local market.

"Not only has the tide of inflation not been stemmed, but the government's efforts to help solve the problem of declining exports by

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The 44-year-old immigrant who spat at Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek, is arrested by police in the Ben-Yehuda Mall during a protest demonstration yesterday against religious violence. Story — Page 3. (Rahamim Israeli)

## Jordan and PLO stress their dialogue to go on

**By DAVID BERNSTEIN**  
Post Middle East Reporter and Agencies

Both Jordanian and Palestine Liberation Organization officials sought yesterday to dispel any sense of crisis between them following Jordan's abrupt termination on Sunday of their five-month dialogue on a possible joint peace strategy in the region.

King Hussein will stand firm on his withdrawal from the peace process, according to authoritative Jordanian sources, seeing no further progress possible without a change in position either by the PLO or by the U.S.

The sources, quoted in Amman last night, noted that Jordan still believes progress is possible, but only after a period of reappraisal by the PLO and Washington — not Jordan, Hussein, meanwhile, will turn his attention in the coming months to domestic affairs, including possible elections to a parliament that would exclude Palestinians living in the West Bank.

Information Minister Adnan Abu Odeh was quoted as saying that Jordan will continue to maintain

normal relations with the PLO, permitting the organization to maintain its offices in the kingdom as well as a military presence in the form of the Palestine Liberation Army contingent stationed there.

He also stressed that the two Jordanian-PLO committees established in Jordan, to evolve a joint peace strategy and to deal with the Palestinians in the West Bank, will continue to function.

The PLO had by last night failed to respond officially to the Jordanian decision, but at least two leading officials echoed Abu Odeh's assessment that Jordanian-PLO ties remain firm.

PLO foreign affairs spokesman Farouk Kaddoumi said in Amman that bilateral relations between the two sides are "developing, regardless of differences of view over the Reagan initiative."

Salah Khalaf (Abu Iyad), PLO chairman Yasser Arafat's second in command in the mainstream Fatah organization, stressed that the PLO wants "good relations with Jordan."

Khalaf, however, sounded a clear note of warning against any Jordanian move to enter the peace

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## Reagan will persevere with peace initiative

**By WOLF BLITZER**  
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — President Ronald Reagan yesterday sought to salvage his Middle East peace initiative despite Sunday's severe setback when Jordan's King Hussein appeared to remove himself as a representative of the Palestinians.

Reagan had scheduled a morning meeting of his National Security Council at the White House, but it was later cancelled.

According to White House spokesman Larry Speakes, the president has telephoned Hussein, Saudi King Fahd and Moroccan King Hassan, urging them to support the U.S. sponsored peace initiative.

Speakes said Reagan planned to "leave no stone unturned" in his search for Middle East peace. Reagan "is in it for the long haul. The 'job at hand' is too important to be determined by the events of the weekend. He (Reagan) will persevere."

Appearing on CBS television yesterday Secretary of State George Shultz also insisted that the president was determined to pursue the peace process announced last September 1. Shultz said that both Reagan and Hussein had rejected proposals put forward by radical elements of the PLO.

According to Shultz, Israel would have been justified in rejecting those conditions sought by the PLO — namely that it agree to the creation of an independent Palestinian state and that the PLO be directly involved in the negotiations. Shultz said that the Palestinians should be involved in the peace talks, but not the PLO.

Speakes and Shultz said "important" progress had been made in the past week. They accused the PLO of injecting some new and unacceptable elements in the negotiations with Jordan following PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat's meetings in Amman with Hussein last week.

Shultz and other U.S. officials yesterday continued to praise Hussein even as they expressed disappointment over his decision. Jordan, Shultz said, has accepted Israel's right to exist and is anxious to enter into negotiations based on the Reagan peace initiative.

But the king, other U.S. officials said, clearly did not feel strong enough to move without firm assurances of support from the PLO and from other Arab states. U.S. of

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

## Shamir assails U.S. 'failures' in Middle East

**By DAVID LANDAU**  
Post Diplomatic Correspondent

Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir warned last night that the U.S. will fail again if it presses ahead with the Reagan initiative. "Even though in the U.S. they are saying that they will continue it will not succeed," Shamir told a Likud audience in Jerusalem.

Speaking to newsmen later, Shamir asserted that the Reagan initiative was "not alive" any longer. Shamir lashed out at Washington for failing to see "what any opened-eyed observer of Mideast affairs sees: that a peace between Israel and an Arab state that is contingent upon an all-Arab consensus is impossible."

Shamir questioned how anyone could "imagine that a peace between Israel and an Arab state can be achieved under the supervision of the PLO. It is an utter absurdity. The PLO, in its very essence, opposes peace and will always strive to undermine peace."

Shamir said there was "no joy or rejoicing" in the Israeli government over the refusal of Jordan's King Hussein to join the peace process and the consequent collapse of the Reagan initiative. Israel had no reason to rejoice if the prospect of peace had receded. There was no cause for celebration "if U.S. policy has once again received a setback and been proved to be misguided," he said.

Earlier in the day, Prime Minister

Menachem Begin was quoted by aides as telling the visiting mayor of Brussels that Israel had not been surprised by Hussein's decision, but the U.S. had been.

Shamir, in his strongly-worded speech, also said he had foreseen — without joy — Hussein's refusal to join peace talks. "Sometimes I pray to be wrong in these pessimistic assessments," he said. "But it rarely happens."

In Israel's view, the Reagan initiative was doomed to failure from the outset, Shamir said. The means that the U.S. had adopted to further it had guaranteed its collapse. American leaders had assured visiting statesmen and newsmen that they would see to it that Hussein was not isolated, as Sadat had been after his peace initiative. "This time," they had asserted, "we want to have the consent of nearly all the Arab states, including the PLO."

But that is a recipe for failure, Shamir said. No Arab state wanted to quarrel with the PLO over the Israeli-Arab issue. Saudi Arabia, for instance, was afraid of the PLO. "The Saudis will never do anything against the PLO."

Peace between Israel and Jordan is possible, the foreign minister declared. "If Jordan takes the decision; if King Hussein has the courage not to ask the PLO and the others, but to present them with a fait accompli." The path to peace in the Middle East must be "state by state."

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

## Protest over Lebanon trade restrictions

**Jerusalem Post Reporter**

NETANYA. — David Kimche, Israel's chief delegate to the troop withdrawal talks between Israel, Lebanon and the U.S., protested vigorously at yesterday's session here about Beirut's restrictions against Lebanese traders dealing with Israel.

The Lebanese delegation said they would take the matter up with the Beirut government.

Traders say the Lebanese army has erected roadblocks, mainly in the Beirut area, and is searching trucks. Goods originating in Israel are confiscated, they say.

On Sunday a Lebanese newspaper reported that a number of

traders have been arrested for buying Israeli produce.

Lebanese President Amin Gemayel has issued a decree calling for the confiscation of all illegally bought goods, but it is not clear whether the edict refers to goods bought in Israel.

The level of trade between the two countries was high in the months immediately following the war, with Israel exporting millions of dollars worth of goods to Lebanon. The crackdown — described by the Lebanese merchants as a "terror campaign" — began in the last few weeks. A possible explanation is Lebanese fear that Israeli imports are harming local manufactured goods.

## Doctors allege MK used his status to have operation

**By DAVID RUDGE**  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — A Knesset member underwent a heart by-pass operation at a major Tel Aviv hospital on Sunday after being refused surgery at another hospital in the region because his condition was not considered urgent, doctors from Rambam Hospital told reporters yesterday.

The Jerusalem Post learned last night that the MK is Yitzhak Peretz (Alignment). He was operated on at Hahiv Hospital and his condition is reported to be good.

The regional control committee of the striking doctors is now mandating that the Israel Medical Association severely censure the doctor who carried out the operation, if necessary by closing his parliament, they said.

"This is a classic example of a public figure taking advantage of his position to jump the queue, while patients with similar complaints, who have also been refused surgery, have to wait and suffer," said Dr. Danny Reis, chairman of the Rambam Hospital doctors' committee.

"The incident may also serve to explain why public figures have not tried to pressure us or the government to settle the strike. Either they are too dumb to realize the seriousness of the situation which is getting worse with each passing day, or they don't care about the public because they have become used to getting preferential treatment for themselves," he said.

Reis and a Rambam colleague, Dr. Yoram Kanter, admitted that the public's health is suffering from the strike.

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## Portuguese police say hit-team killed Sartawi

**Jerusalem Post Staff and Agencies**

LISBON. — Portuguese police confirmed last night that the murder of PLO official Issam Sartawi was carried out by a hit-team comprising several members. The police said that a forensic expert was being sent from Lisbon to examine Sartawi's body.

Sartawi was assassinated in his hotel in the coastal resort of Albufeira on Sunday where he was attending a meeting of the Socialist International.

A Moroccan national, identified as Yussuf al-Awad, 26, was still being held by the police in connection with the murder. Police said he would appear this morning before a magistrate, who will decide whether to prolong his detention.

Roberto Carneiro, acting internal administration minister, identified the man as a resident of Casablanca. But he added that police had not yet been able to determine if the Moroccan passport and an unspecified quantity of U.S. dollars found on the detained man were genuine.

He said the man had been arrested on Sunday at a small hotel on the central Avenida da Liberdade in the Portuguese capital, 192 kilometres from the hotel where Sartawi was shot to death 11 hours earlier.

The PLO breakaway group headed by Abu Nidal said that it had carried out the attack because Sartawi had "sold out" the Palestinian cause.

The Socialist International meeting wound up three hours after the murder, delaying the closing session by only half an hour.

PLO chairman Yasser Arafat yesterday named Ilan Halevi, a journalist with Israeli and French citizenship, to represent the PLO in place of Sartawi at the final session of the Socialist International. This was announced by the PLO office in Paris.

Halevi, a Jew whose father was from Turkey and his mother from Yemen, was born in Paris. He lived in Israel during the 1960s and was active in the left-wing anti-Zionist Matzpen movement.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

## Police: 'Bloomfield gang' scaring witnesses

**By MICHAEL YUDELMAN**  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The police investigation into the alleged use of extortion, violence and threats by a gang of criminals to control refreshment stalls at Bloomfield Stadium, is being hampered by difficulties because witnesses are afraid to testify, police said yesterday.

Police Inspector Avraham Kendel, a magistrate here that the police knew of several suspects but having difficulties in persuading witnesses to name them.

Six suspects who were arrested Saturday at the stadium by police posing as food vendors, were brought to the magistrate's Court yesterday for the

extension of their remand. Magistrate Yehoshua Ben-Shlomo ruled that their release would hinder the inquiry, which involves a number of suspects not yet arrested.

It was alleged that the thousands of spectators who flock into Bloomfield Stadium on Saturdays buy refreshments at the stadium's 13 gates at more than twice the permitted price for drinks, sandwiches and sunflower seeds. But last Saturday, detectives took over the refreshment stalls, serving as bait for the extortionists.

Minutes before the game began, the police managed to capture 10 suspects, believed to belong to a ring of criminals who allegedly forced the food sales franchise owner at the stadium to work for them, Kendel told the magistrate.

When the present franchise owner began working three years ago, the court was told, the suspects physically assaulted him and his workers, who abandoned their posts. The previous franchise owner had also left his job due to extortion.

The suspects, threatening the life and property of the franchise

owner, took over refreshment sales at the stadium, fixed the prices as they pleased and sold vending positions at the stadium gates to others at IS60,000 a gate, the police maintained. The extortionists kept most of their profits, distributing a small fraction to the franchise owner and to their "employees."

Six weeks ago, the franchise owner complained to the police. Since then, detectives have worked in the refreshment storeroom every Saturday, distributing merchandise to the alleged extortionists who sold it at the gates.

Last Saturday, three detectives bringing with them 12 others described as "workers," arrived at the refreshment storeroom. When the suspects arrived to collect their merchandise, and saw the new people, violence erupted. They attacked the policemen and workers and began beating them up. The workers managed to escape, and one of the policemen was badly beaten before other policemen, waiting nearby, moved in to arrest the attackers. Some of the attackers escaped, and additional arrests are expected.

## Iranians claim major war gains

LONDON. — Iranian forces stormed across minefields Sunday night to recapture 150 square kilometres of Iraqi-held territory in the southern sector of the Gulf War front, Teheran Radio said yesterday.

The radio said Iranian forces killed or wounded 4500 Iraqis and inflicted heavy losses on four Iraqi brigades, taking 350 prisoners.

Fierce exchanges of artillery fire continued north of the Iranian border town of Fakkeh in the oil producing province of Khuzestan, the radio said.

Iraq said earlier in the day that the Iranian attack, along a 30 km front east of the border in its southern governorate of Missan, had been wiped out.

A new communique broadcast over Baghdad radio said fierce fighting was still raging, and that the bodies of killed Iranian soldiers littered the battleground, while hundreds of other Iranian soldiers were taken prisoner, among them a number of high-ranking officers. (Reuter, AP)

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11A-1000	MIN.	MAX.	C P C F
AMSTERDAM	8-12	14-18	Cloudy
BRUSSELS	9-12	14-18	Cloudy
BRUXELLES	9-12	14-18	Cloudy
COLOGNE	10-14	18-20	Cloudy
DORTMUND	10-14	18-20	Cloudy
FRANKFURT	11-15	19-21	Cloudy
GENEVA	12-16	20-22	Cloudy
HELSINKI	12-16	20-22	Cloudy
HONG KONG	25-27	31-33	Cloudy
JAKARTA	25-27	31-33	Cloudy
JOHANNESBURG	14-17	22-24	Rain
LONDON	10-14	18-20	Cloudy
LUXEMBOURG	10-14	18-20	Cloudy
MADRID	10-14	18-20	Cloudy
MILAN	10-14	18-20	Cloudy
MUNICH	10-14	18-20	Cloudy
NEW YORK	2-6	8-10	Rain
OSLO	10-14	18-20	Cloudy
PARIS	10-14	18-20	Cloudy
RIO DE JANEIRO	18-21	25-27	Cloudy
SÃO PAULO	18-21	25-27	Cloudy
STOCKHOLM	10-14	18-20	Cloudy
TOKYO	12-16	20-22	Cloudy
TORONTO	7-11	15-17	Cloudy
VIENNA	10-14	18-20	Cloudy
ZURICH	12-16	20-22	Cloudy

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## THE WEATHER

Forecast: Partly cloudy.

Yesterday's High/Low	Today's High/Low
Jerusalem 71/44	71/44
Golan 76/40	76/40
Nahariya 69/38	69/38
Safed 60/30	60/30
Haifa Port 50/20	50/20
Tiberias 51/20	51/20
Na'arath 62/30	62/30
Alula 62/30	62/30
Shimon 62/30	62/30
Tel Aviv 71/44	71/44
B-G Airport 71/44	71/44
Jericho 42/11	42/11
Gaza 71/44	71/44
Beersheva 52/20	52/20
Eilat 18/13	18/13

## SOCIAL & PERSONAL

The Israeli Maritime League will give a testimonial dinner in honour of Dr. Naftali Wydra, who has been elected its Man of the Sea for 1983, at the Zion Hotel, Haifa, 7 p.m. tonight. Table reservations by phone, 537766.

Rabbi Menahem Genack, rabbinic coordinator of kashrut division of OU (U.S.), will hold a question and answer period on Thursday April 14, 8 p.m. at the Israel Centre, 10 Rehov Straus, Jerusalem.

## ARRIVALS

A one-thousand-member United Jewish Appeal Yachad Young Leadership Mission for a 10-day visit to Israel, arriving in Jerusalem for the opening of the 1983-84 season of the Yachad Young Leadership Mission. The mission is headed by Dr. Naftali Wydra, who has been elected its Man of the Sea for 1983, at the Zion Hotel, Haifa, 7 p.m. tonight. Table reservations by phone, 537766.

## Eitan takes leave of Southern Command

Jerusalem Post Reporter  
BEERSHEBA. — Chief of Staff Rav-Aluf Rafael Eitan yesterday parted from the OC Southern Command Aluf Haim Erez and the command's senior officers at a festive supper here.

## Piano contest winners receive their prizes

The prize winners in the Arthur Rubinstein Fourth International Piano Master Competition received their awards last night from President and Mrs. Navon at the Binyanei Ha'uma in Jerusalem.

## Welcome Back to Israel

David Deutsch and Wife Judy  
Prominent New York attorney and artist.  
Prof. Livia Blum Jackson  
Pioneer in the field of history on women and columnist for the Jewish Press of New York plus author of several best selling books.  
Mrs. Hilda Rogers  
Prominent community worker of Washington, D.C.  
Happy 90th Birthday  
Prof. Jacob Lown of Jerusalem  
His is a life devoted to Jewish studies.  
His career spans three continents from his youth at the University of Lithuania, Kovno, to Bates College, Lewiston, Maine, and Hebrew College and Harvard University in the Boston area. Prof. Lown claims he is still actively learning from his students.  
From: The Capt. Yehiel and Ruth Glosky Langer Hospitality Foundation, 1 Magna St., Jerusalem.

## HOME NEWS

### Avraham Yoffe dies at 69

Aluf (Res.) Avraham Yoffe, head of Israel's Nature Reserves Authority and veteran Hagana and IDF commander, died yesterday at Beilinson Hospital in Petah Tikva after a long illness. He was 69.

Yoffe will be buried with full military honours at Ramat Hasharon at 3.30 this afternoon. The cortege will leave Tel Hashomer Hospital at 3 p.m.

Yoffe was born on September 15, 1913, at Yavneel in Lower Galilee, where his parents had farmed since 1906. Avraham grew up on the farm and received his early education in Yavneel.

At 16, while still at school, Yoffe joined the Hagana. When the 1936 Arab riots began, he enlisted in the Settlement Police units which guarded villages and kibbutzim in the Beit She'an area. He later joined Orde Wingate's Night Squads, becoming a platoon commander. When World War II broke out, Yoffe joined the British Army's

First Palestine Light Anti-Aircraft Battery and served in Cyprus. Afterwards, he fought in the Western Sahara with the Service Corps. Demobilized with the rank of captain in 1946, he immediately rejoined the Hagana.

During the War of Independence, Yoffe fought Iraqi units in the Beit She'an valley and participated in the capture of Nazareth and the liberation of Galilee. He was wounded when the jeep he was driving struck a mine.

In 1950 Yoffe became the Commanding Officer of the Golani Brigade. During the 1956 Sinai Campaign, he commanded the famous Ninth Brigade that captured Sharm el-Sheikh. In 1959 he was OC Southern Command and in 1962 OC Northern Command.

When the cabinet set up the Nature Reserves Authority in 1964, Yoffe was appointed chairman. He left the army in November 1964, after 24 years of active service.

Yoffe froze Haifa's development plans, which would have endangered the Carmel park area, and assured the preservation of Hurbat Tal and many other natural treasures.

Among his achievements were the 1977 opening of the Hai Bar Biblical Wildlife Park adjoining Kibbutz Yotvata and the restoration of wildlife in the Hula Valley.

He formed the Green Patrols with the task of protecting state lands and nature reserves. Yoffe was a leader of the Land of Israel Movement, which eventually joined the Likud for the 1973 elections. He was subsequently elected to the Knesset, and served until 1977. He opposed withdrawal from the Sinai.

Yoffe is survived by his wife Aviva, two daughters and a son. A.Z.



Avraham Yoffe feeds a baby gazelle in the 1960s. (Rubinger)

## INDUSTRIALISTS

(Continued from Page One)  
other means is simply nonsensical chatter," Yeshayahu Gavish, head of the Koor concern said, noting that the final results would be an even greater shift away from productive work.

Manufacturers' association head Eli Hurvitz pointed out that the new 1 per cent levy on the purchase of foreign currency, which should raise \$150 million a year to help exporters "was not only insufficient, but much too late to help the industrial sector."

Fifty per cent of Israeli industry is exports, noted Hurvitz. If there is a 24 per cent drop in exports, as in March, this means that the half of the industry working for exports is out of work.

In other words, this means some 36,000 workers will soon pick up their last pay-check, because most of them are already "hidden unemployed."

Danny Rosolio, incoming head of Hevrat Ovdim, the Histadrut's holding company, thought that the problem of unemployment had not been felt yet because of emigration. "There was not only a flight of manpower, he said, but also of capital and initiative."

Shlomo Givon representing kibbutz industries pointed out that "50 per cent of the income of the kibbutzim comes from industry; and the percentage is much higher in the young kibbutzim. When their fac-

ories close down, so will the kibbutzim themselves. They cannot rely on agriculture, for they were planned for industry, and do not have any farming resources available."

Elihu Izakson, President of the Farmers' Federation, said that agriculture, "once the glory of Israel," is actually collapsing, since 95 per cent of our exports go to the Common Market, where foreign currencies are falling steadily in value. The exchange-rate guarantee is far from sufficient to cover the huge losses. If the present situation continued, it would soon reach a stage where the Israelis own the land and let the Arabs share-crop it.

The Industry and Trade Ministry reacted sharply last night to the news that industrialists would boycott trade delegations and trade fairs. The decision would harm the exporters themselves, it was stressed. The ministry spokesman noted that the places vacated by the Israeli exporters would be taken up by producers from other countries.

Last week the government raised \$170m. to support exports and this had been quite a burden on the public. Now was the time for exporters to initiate a new drive to turn the situation around, said the spokesman.

He reiterated that the ministry would be watching the world markets and take further action if this proved necessary.

## DOCTORS ALLEGE

(Continued from Page One)  
severely, and some patients may even die, because of the continuing strike.

They said that the situation at Rambam, the main emergency hospital for Haifa and the North, serving a population of nearly one million, is very serious. All non-emergency surgery has been cancelled and even operations on patients suffering from serious heart diseases and cancer are being delayed. For example, doctors in the Haifa region are performing only one heart operation a week, compared to eight a week prior to the strike, they said.

"In addition, because of the strike, illnesses are not being diagnosed at the optimum time. It is a first principle of medicine to make an early diagnosis, because the later it is done, the less chance there is of curing the disease. If this goes on, there is no doubt that people will die," said Reis.

## REAGAN

(Continued from Page One)  
officials have privately expressed their disappointment at the lack of a more "supportive" position taken by these other Arab states.

Shultz said he was prepared to visit the Middle East, but only if such a journey would be "useful" in promoting the peace process. No such trip has yet been planned, he said.

Appearing on NBC's Today show, Deputy National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane denied that the administration had any intention at this point of cutting economic and military assistance to Israel because of the continued establishment of West Bank settlements. Last Friday, The State Department promised to work for a settlement freeze if Jordan should get involved in the talks.

The assassination of moderate PLO leader Issam Sartawi shocked many U.S. officials. For them it underlined the splits within the PLO and the broader Arab world. Reagan, Shultz, Spokes and other U.S. officials have deplored the shooting, calling it tragic and disturbing.



President Yitzhak Navon (right) and president-elect Chaim Herzog meet at the president's residence yesterday afternoon for their first consultation since Herzog was elected. At the same time, Aura Herzog was given a tour of the private quarters — her first time on the third floor of the building — by Ofra Navon. The Herzogs are scheduled to move in after the inauguration on May 5. The two spoke about the responsibilities of the president, and Navon offered practical advice.

(Rahimim Israeli)

## SARTAWI

(Continued from Page One)

A plane is expected to bring Sartawi's body from Portugal to Amman, but relatives said the international Red Cross had also been approached to try to obtain Israeli approval for his burial in the West Bank. Sartawi had always wished to be buried in the West Bank, where he was born.

Sartawi was suspected of masterminding a 1970 terrorist attack that killed one Israeli and wounded 13 others in West Germany.

Otto Heindl, head of the public prosecutors office in Bavaria, told the Associated Press in a telephone

interview there was "hardly any doubt" that Sartawi was the same man wanted for murder and attempted murder in the attack at Munich airport.

Heindl said the case was considered closed since Sartawi was gunned down Sunday in Albufeira.

The warrant against Sartawi was filed after two Palestinians arrested immediately after the attack named him as leader and mastermind.

Two terrorists hurled a grenade into an airport shuttle bus in February 1970 and opened fire on the vehicle as it transported passengers to an El Al airliner.

## SHAMIR

(Continued from Page One)

state, step-by-step, in an evolutionary process."

Another grievous error by the U.S. had been its failure to consult with Israel — "50 per cent of the conflict" — before President Reagan went public with his proposals on September 1, Shamir said.

Worse still was the fact that U.S. diplomacy had cast the PLO in the key role in the whole episode. "It became a Jordan-PLO negotiation, and, even more serious, through Jordan a U.S.-PLO negotiation."

Shamir castigated Washington for its recent statements on the embargo of F-16 planes to Israel and for its pledge to "achieve a West Bank settlement freeze."

These statements had not succeeded in wooing Hussein, Shamir said, but they had hurt Israel gratuitously because:

- Israel did not need the F-16 stick to prod it out of Lebanon. It wanted to leave Lebanon at the earliest possible moment;
- Israel would never knuckle under to pressure for a settlement freeze. At Camp David, Israel had pledged to negotiate the political future of Judea and Samaria, not the inalienable right of Jews to live there.

Despite the setbacks and let-downs there was an encouraging

aspect to these past months of diplomacy, Shamir said. "Apparently people throughout the Middle East have come to realize that Israel cannot be crushed by force. Not by military force, not by terrorism, and not by atomic power. Hence their conclusion that Israel must be combated by political means. Hence the Arab effort to wrest Judea and Samaria from Israel by diplomatic process."

Regarding Lebanon, Shamir affirmed that Israel would "know within a few weeks" whether an agreement was at hand.

Shamir is to confer with U.S. special envoy Philip Habib today. Habib flew in from Beirut yesterday and spent the day conferring with Shamir at the U.S. Embassy in Tel Aviv.

In Netanya, meanwhile, Israeli, Lebanese and American negotiators embarked yesterday on a four-day "intensive" effort to draw up an inventory of all the points still at issue, while continuing to formulate draft provisions of the points on which agreement has already been reached.

Israeli sources said there was no breakthrough yet on the disputed issues of South Lebanon militia leader Major Sa'ad Haddad's role and the function of UNIFIL in the South Lebanon security zone. Aspects of the "mutual relations" are also still unresolved.

## Cairo press: Sartawi murder a warning

CAIRO (Reuters). — A leading Cairo newspaper said yesterday that the killing in Portugal of Palestinian envoy Issam Sartawi would be a warning to Palestinian leaders to abandon efforts for a peaceful Middle East settlement.

The mass circulation *Al-Akhar* said: "The murderer may want to tell (PLO chairman Yasser) Arafat and other Palestinian leaders to abandon peaceful efforts" to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict.

"The crime was all the more disastrous because it was designed to silence a moderate Palestinian

leader who wanted to put an end to bloodshed and destruction," it added.

The semi-official *Al-Ahram* said the killing was a blow to peaceful efforts aimed at ending the Arab-Israeli conflict.

In Amman, King Hussein of Jordan expressed his condolences on the death of Sartawi to his sister. Accompanied by Queen Noor, Hussein called at the home of Sahab Sartawi Jarrah and told her: "Issam was an honest struggler who stood by his principles, which were very clear."

## Armoured vehicle hits mine in Lebanon

Jerusalem Post Staff

METULLA. — An Israeli armoured personnel carrier drove over a mine yesterday near Kamad a-Luz, in the eastern sector of Lebanon. There were no casualties, the army spokesman announced. Those responsible for laying the mine are believed to have come from the Syrian-held zone.

It was the eighth incident aimed at Israeli soldiers since Sunday. One soldier has been killed and several wounded.

Outside of Sidon, meanwhile, a local car filled with explosives blew up. There were no casualties, the IDF spokesman announced. In

Beirut, a hitherto-unknown group calling itself the Mujahideen Brigades Organization claimed responsibility for another blast in the area on Sunday, which it said occurred near an Israeli military bus.

The IDF spokesman also said it had no information about Lebanese reports of an exchange of fire on Sunday night between Israeli and Syrian troops in eastern Lebanon. The reports said residents of the Bekaa Valley took refuge in bomb shelters as the sides exchanged artillery and machine-gun fire for 75 minutes along an 80-kilometre front.

## 'CIA chief visited Israel on secret mission'

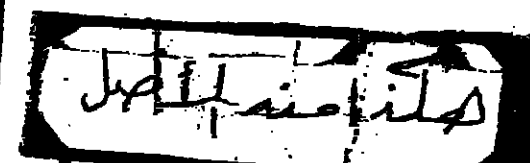
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — U.S. Central Intelligence Agency director William Casey was reported yesterday to have travelled secretly to Israel last week to try to convince Israel that the Lebanese Army is capable of defending Southern Lebanon.

The Middle East Policy Survey, a respected Washington newsletter,

the Lebanese Army "can control terrorist activity in Southern Lebanon."

The newsletter said, however, that Casey was unable to sway Defence Minister Moshe Arens, who is said to be under strong pressure from Military Intelligence, as well as from the Labour Party, not to abandon militia leader Major Sa'ad Haddad in favour of the



## Sharon in S. Lebanon meets with Haddad

Jerusalem Post Reporter

METULLA. — Minister without Portfolio Ariel Sharon visited South Lebanon yesterday and held a two-hour discussion with militia leader Major Sa'ad Haddad at his home in Marjayoun.

Sharon said that Haddad and his forces are the foundation of any peace agreement between Israel and Lebanon. Sharon also met with IDF officers in the area. The former defence minister was reportedly sent to South Lebanon by the cabinet in advance of its scheduled debate on security arrangements there.

With pain and sorrow,  
we mourn the death in the USA of our dearest

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Leo and Margaret Schwartz  
Ramat Gan

We mourn the death of

## Dr. ISSAM SARTAWI

a brave fighter for Israeli-Palestinian peace,  
who was murdered by the enemies of peace.

The Executive Committee  
International Center for Peace in  
the Middle East

In deep sorrow  
we announce the passing of our dear

## ROSE BERDICHEFSKY

on Sunday, April 10, 1983 — 27 Nissan 5743.  
The deceased bequeathed her body to science.

The Bereaved Family

## ALFRED WEBBER

passed away on April 6, 1983, suddenly and peacefully.

Dearly loved husband of Ellen, devoted father to Rosemary, Michael and Anne, loving grandfather of Kate and Abigail and dear brother of Eil.

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Manchester 20.

We profoundly regret the passing on April 10, 1983 of

## BENJAMIN KAGAN

our delegate for Israel.

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a highly honoured and valuable associate,  
but also a very dear friend.

Our sincere condolences are extended to  
Mrs. Sara Kagan and to the Kagan family  
whose sorrow we share.

We shall keep Benjamin Kagan in our memory.

Aican Aluminium A. and M.E. Ltd. R.H. Germann.



## Big protest in capital against religious violence

By ROBERT ROSENBERG  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Five minutes after Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek finished speaking to an estimated 5,000 people protesting against violence by Jewish zealots in Jerusalem, a skull-capped 44-year-old immigrant spat in his face. After a tussle with the police, the man, who resides in Kiryat Arba, told his interrogators that "God gave him the strength" to attack the mayor.

The incident was the only one to mar an otherwise peaceful demonstration in the Ben-Yehuda Mall. It was called by friends of Dr. Uzi Ritten, the Hebrew University geneticist who was seriously injured when his car was stoned in the capital's Gula neighbourhood on Saturday afternoon.

The vast majority of the demonstrators in the Ben-Yehuda Mall appeared to be western, secular Jews. A heavy police presence included Border Policemen on the roofs of the buildings and a police photographer, which has been police policy since the fatal grenade attack on the Peace Now demonstration last February.

Former Knesset clerk Netanel Lorch opened the rally, calling on

the government and police to make it possible for "religious and secular, Jew and Arab, to be allowed to live in this, our city, without fear."

That, and the demand for "equal justice" for Jewish and Arab demonstrators were the main themes of the rally, which included speeches by poet Yehuda Amichai, Hebrew University professors Shmuel Ettinger, Yehoshua Porat and Shalom Rosenberg, who is an observant Jew.

President Yitzhak Navon sent a message of support saying that, "we don't need an abstract love of Israel, we need a love of the people of Israel that accepts them for what they are."

"Take Jerusalem out of the stone age," read one placard of the many that participants carried. Another asked: "How long will the police use kid gloves against religious criminals?"

The man who spat at Kollek was wearing an IDF uniform. He was detained by the police and will be charged with attacking a public servant and police officers.

Kollek told the crowd that the ultra-Orthodox Eda Haredit "fears this crowd, because it shows the strength of those who will not give in."

## First residential centre for alcoholics is opened

By LEA LEVAVI  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

RAMAT GAN. — The country's first residential treatment centre for alcoholics officially opened here yesterday. It will provide treatment for alcoholics whose physical and mental conditions make ambulatory care impossible. The centre has been treating alcoholics on an ambulatory basis since December, 1982.

Of the 32 patients treated so far, four had to leave the programme because of their poor physical condition, four more dropped out, 11 completed treatment (and are so far keeping away from drink) and the rest are still being treated.

Professionals treating alcoholics

say there are about 10,000 in Israel, only about 25 per cent of whom have come for treatment. Treatment is impossible, they note, unless the alcoholic is motivated to kick the habit.

There are 10 ambulatory treatment centres for alcoholics operating around the country; but a need was felt for a residential treatment centre.

The Association for Prevention of Alcoholism, a voluntary organization headed by MK Jacques Amir, worked hard to obtain support from the Health Ministry and the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs to establish the new centre.

The majority of Israel's alcoholics are men. Only about 10 per cent are women.

## Chronically ill explain how doctors' strike affects them

By LEA LEVAVI  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Chronically ill patients and the organizations which represent them yesterday urged doctors and the government to negotiate non-stop until the strike is settled so that they — the patients most dependent on doctors — will stop suffering.

Speakers at a press conference pointed out that the Israel Medical Association's alternative clinics do not meet their special needs.

Follow-up is impossible without medical records, they explained, and patients lose confidence when their special relationship with their own physician is interrupted. Some are going without treatment because they cannot afford to pay the IS600 fee or to buy expensive medicines privately, or because they hesitate to go to a strange doctor.

Martha, a mental patient, said the medicine she needs to prevent serious depression costs IS2,500 at a private pharmacy, a price she cannot afford on her National Insurance disability pension. "If I go without the medicine for a few weeks, I can become so depressed that I may commit suicide."

Heart patients noted that negligence can only be proven when a particular doctor is negligent in treating a particular patient. If someone dies a natural death a few

months from now it would be nearly impossible to know whether lack of medical follow-up was to blame.

Similar complaints were voiced by kidney patients, parents of children with cystic fibrosis, from diabetes sufferers and others.

A representative of disabled veterans complained that men burned in the Lebanon war are not getting plastic surgery because of the strike, since their operations are not a matter of life and death. But delays in performing these operations can lead to more serious disability in the future, particularly for patients with facial scars.

Miriam Klein of the Cancer Society said failure to detect cancer in time could cost lives.

A cancer patient, Yosef Kapito, said that he wanted to set the record straight by saying he received excellent care in the hospital during the strike. He added that he heard how much doctors earn, and he knows shoemakers and clerks who earn more. At the same time, he is now facing difficulties receiving the ambulatory care he needs and urged both sides in the dispute to settle it quickly.

The organizations represented sent a joint telegram to Prime Minister Menachem Begin urging him to become personally involved in bringing a speedy end to the doctors' strike.

## 'Smokeless day' proclaimed today

TEL AVIV. — The Israel Cancer Society is calling on all Israelis throughout the country to abstain from buying or smoking tobacco today. Under the slogan, "Smoking is out of fashion," the society

plans to use youth groups to distribute literature showing that smoking, especially of cigarettes, is a primary cause of lung cancer, and is also a contributory factor in heart disease.

This is the fourth such "smokeless day" sponsored by the

society, which notes that it has already persuaded the authorities strictly to limit tobacco advertisements. The law is scheduled to take effect soon.

In the central part of the country, youth volunteers will also take up posters in petrol stations and distribute stickers calling for an end to smoking.

Israel Radio, Army Radio and the Voice of Peace, as well as Israel Television will dedicate programmes to the war against the habit.

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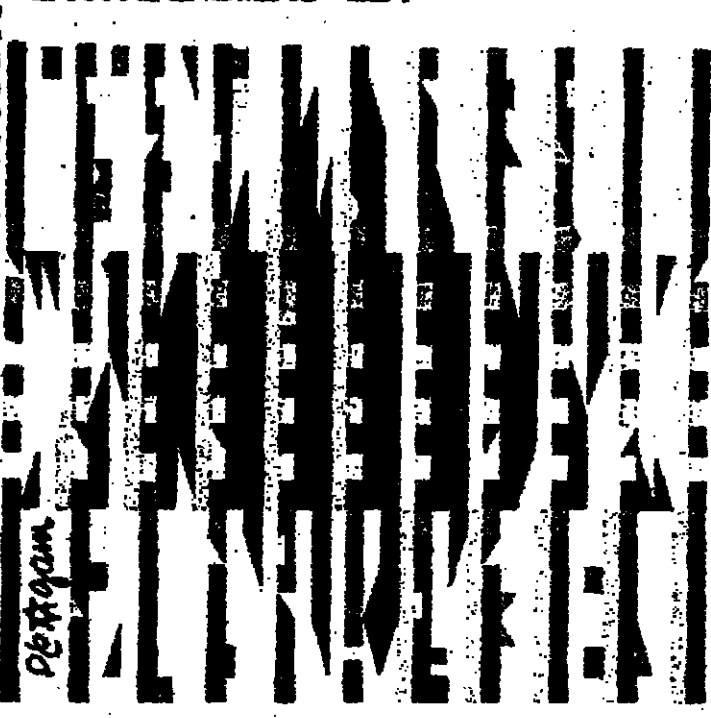
Jerusalem: Discount Bank, Clal Building, 97 Jaffa Rd., Tel. 02-232377.

Hafia: 11 Pal-Yam St. adjoining Zim building, Tel. 04-670726

Application forms now also available through branch offices of Israel Discount Bank, throughout the country.

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ישראל 25.00

Israeli-born artist Yacov Agam was presented yesterday with the first stamp he designed for the Israel Philatelic Services — using his well-known kinetic style in the shape of a Star of David. The IS25 stamp is being issued in honour of Israel's 35th anniversary of independence. Communications Minister Mordechai Zipori, who made the presentation, praised Agam's contribution to Israeli philately. Later, the minister and the artist gave another stamp to Prime Minister Menachem Begin.

## Ministry takes responsibility for reconstruction of mosque

By HAIM SHAPIRO  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Hassan Bek Mosque in Jaffa is to be turned over to the local Waqf (Muslim religious trust) by the custodian of absentee property following renovation.

This was announced yesterday by the Religious Affairs Ministry, which will take full responsibility for the planning and execution of the renovations, thus by-passing the Tel Aviv municipality. The mosque, which was in the news last year due to attempts to turn it into a commercial attraction, was again the focus of tension 10 days ago when its minaret collapsed.

The decisions announced yesterday were made by an inter-ministerial committee consisting of ministry Director-General Rabbi Moshe Solomon, the Prime Minister's Adviser on Arab Affairs, Benjamin Gur-Arye and a representative of the Israel Lands Authority. Muslim engineers involved in planning the reconstruction have been

asked to come to the ministry today to draw up a contract.

The committee said that it would gladly accept contributions for the reconstruction from Israeli Arabs, but would not accept funds from states at war with Israel or from enemy organizations. This decision evidently opens the way for funds from Egypt to be accepted.

Although the committee did not oppose immediate reconstruction of the minaret by the local community, it noted that this should be done in coordination with the planners to ensure safety and obviate the waste of money.

Tel Aviv Mayor Shlomo Lahat met with Waqf chairman Abed Kabub yesterday and persuaded him that it was unsafe to rebuild the minaret without coordinating the work.

Speaking on Israel Radio last night, Lahat said that despite the "disrespect" of the ministry in ignoring him, he was happy that the mosque would be renovated as soon as possible.

## Arab car windows smashed overnight near Kiryat Arba

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Scores of cars belonging to Arabs who live in the vicinity of Kiryat Arba, the Jewish suburb outside Hebron, had their windcreens smashed on Sunday night.

Residents found that cars after cars in the Arab suburbs west and south of Kiryat Arba had been attacked with rocks or iron bars, and some had most of their windows smashed.

Police said yesterday that they had received complaints from 33 residents in the town, although local sources said the number of cars damaged was closer to 100. A special investigative team has been set up.

A curfew was imposed on the Balata refugee camp near Nablus last night after stonethrowing, it was reported.

MK Rabbi Haim Druckman (NRP) last night condemned the window smashing, but urged police to investigate whether the incident was a continuation of the "mass poisoning provocation" in the West Bank.

Old mine wounds tractor driver

KIRYAT SHMONA. — A tractor driver from a moshav in the Jordan Valley was slightly wounded yesterday when his tractor drove over a mine between moshav Yarden and Kibbutz Neveh Or.

Security forces believe that the mine was an old one, dating from before the Six-Day War. The driver was taken to Afula hospital.

## 'Men of valour' to light Independence flames

By JUDY SIEGEL  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Twelve torches will be kindled on the eve of Independence Day next Sunday by former underground fighters and partisans, soldiers in World War II and Israeli wars, and the mother of a fallen soldier.

The dozen were chosen to correspond with the theme of the 35th anniversary of independence — "The Year of Valour" — that coincides with the 40th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.

The "secret lives" of two of the 12 will be disclosed for the first time. Ya'acov ("Yakuba") Cohen, 58, is a former intelligence agent, involved in daring escapades, who has retired to garden work in Kibbutz Alonim. Gad Shahar worked secretly in Morocco to bring Jews here 20 years ago.

The others chosen for the honour are Yosef Avidar (of the Hagana); Rafael Saban (Irgun Zva'i Leumi); Yehoshua Cohen (Lehi); Ziva Arbel (Palmach); Yonatan Fridan (yishuv volunteer in World War II); Yerahmiel Plazenstein (allied armies in World War II); Simha Rotem (ghetto and partisan fighter); Ben-Zion Leitner (veteran of War of Independence and disabled veterans' organization); Sara



Shimoni (mother of soldier who fell in Yom Kippur War); and Seren Moshe Krawitz (winner of medal of valour in Operation Peace for Galilee).

As every year, Independence Day will be preceded by Memorial Day for the fallen. A two-minute siren will be sounded on Saturday night at 8.30, bringing traffic to a halt and flags to half mast. A memorial ceremony will be held at the Western Wall, where a torch will be lit by President Yitzhak Navon. Local memorial assemblies will be held in towns and settlements in the evening, and at military cemeteries on Sunday morning.

Independence Day Eve opens formally with the traditional torch-kindling ceremony atop Mt. Herzl in Jerusalem, which will be followed by a fireworks display. Gali Zahal's

Shirutrom campaign for educational facilities for soldiers, army canteens and rest homes will open at 9 p.m. and continue on radio throughout the holiday.

Over one million Israelis are expected to take part in walking tours "In the Footsteps of the Warriors," being organized around the country. The participants will tour former battle sites and monuments.

A number of army, navy and air force bases will be open to the public on Monday from 9 a.m. to 2 p.m.

The Bible Quiz for Jewish Youth opens at the Jerusalem Theatre at noon. President Yitzhak Navon will hold a reception for the foreign diplomatic corps and another for outstanding soldiers at his official residence. Israel Prizes will be awarded at the Jerusalem Theatre at 8 p.m. Receptions for Arab dignitaries will take place in Nazareth, Netanya and Beersheba.

An unusual event this year will be a pageant and sound-light show in the Ramat Gan Stadium. Rehearsals will be held on Independence Day Eve, and the show itself on Monday night. All proceeds (tickets are IS20 for rehearsal and IS50 for show) will go to the Israel Defence Fund.

## Israelis to attend Poland's ghetto memorial

Jerusalem Post Staff

TEL AVIV. — Over 300 Israelis, including 100 teenagers from Tel Aviv high schools and from kibbutzim, will leave for Poland over the next few days to attend ceremonies marking the 40th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising.

At a press conference here yesterday Stefan Grayek, chairman of the World Union of Jewish Partisans and Ghetto Fighters, responded to criticism by those who feel the visits by Israeli delegations show support for the regime in Poland.

"We are going to Jewish events, to remind the world of what happened 40 years ago and to commemorate those who died. The Polish Government is interested because of the anti-Semitic campaign of 1968. They want to show that they do not deny that there were Jewish fighters. There could be some in Poland who have other motives, but that does not have to interest me," he said.

Several delegations, including

one from Tel Aviv, headed by Mayor Shlomo Lahat, a youth delegation, a group of authors and artists, representatives of Yad Vashem and other memorial institutions and private individuals are going. Some will visit relatives, or the gentiles who saved them.

Among the events in which the Israelis, and a number of Jews from abroad, will participate, are the dedication of the refurbished synagogue in Warsaw, which was destroyed by the Nazis and rebuilt by the Polish government, a ceremony commemorating the April 19 ghetto uprising, to be held in the Warsaw amphitheatre next Tuesday, and a memorial ceremony at Auschwitz. The Israelis will spend between eight and 11 days in Poland.

American President Ronald Reagan yesterday welcomed thousands of Holocaust survivors who came to a national gathering in Washington to remember the six million.

"As survivors and lifegivers of the

Holocaust, you have endured and triumphed over one of the greatest evils, one of the greatest nightmares of all times," Reagan said in a letter to the conference organizers.

Reagan was scheduled to address a packed auditorium of more than 20,000 people last night at the Capital Centre.

From all over the U.S. and Canada, survivors began arriving yesterday at the massive Washington convention centre which has been converted into a "survivors' village." Later in the day, they were to be bused to the Capital Centre in suburban Maryland.

In Athens about 1,000 people attended a memorial service in the Jewish section of Athens cemetery on Sunday, commemorating the 40th anniversary of the killing of Greek Jews by the Nazis.

A similar ceremony was held in Salonika, northern Greece, where the majority of Greek Jews had lived prior to the Holocaust.

(Remembering Warsaw — page 5)

## Damages claimed over exploding bottle

TEL AVIV (Itim). — A claim for damages against the Tempo soft-drink company, the Tanaz glass manufacturers and the state was presented at the Tel Aviv District Court on Sunday on behalf of the family of Tamar Haliba, who died after a bottle of carbonated soda exploded in her hand in June 1979.

The plaintiffs are her husband Mordechai and her three children, Yosef, Nissim and David.

They asserted that the two companies were responsible for the exploded bottle and its contents and had been negligent. They further asserted that the state was responsible for medical treatment in the case, which they alleged was also negligent.

The claimants said that, although Haliba was bleeding heavily from wounds to her throat caused by glass splinters, the deceased was turned away from two hospitals before being taken in at Donolo Bet

in Jaffa, where she was declared dead from loss of blood.

The two companies and the state denied the plaintiffs' claim that it was to blame for Haliba's death. No date was fixed for a hearing.

## Two new envoys present credentials

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Two Latin American ambassadors presented their letters of credence yesterday to President Yitzhak Navon in ceremonies that included champagne toasts and the playing of anthems.

The new ambassador from the Dominican Republic is Manuel Esteban Rodriguez Fernandez, previously a senator and undersecretary of education and culture in his country.

In a separate ceremony, Agustin Espinosa of Uruguay presented his credentials.

## U.S. students return to round-world trip

By HAIM SHAPIRO  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

A group of 450 American students and staff from a number of universities are due to leave Jerusalem tomorrow to complete their round-the-world trip, after an unexpected month's stay in the capital. They are participating in a programme called Semester at Sea, where they spend six months on board a ship travelling around the world. They are awarded credits for their time at sea.

The group came to Jerusalem after their boat ran aground in Alexandria. During their stay, the academic dean died and was buried in Jerusalem.

Tonight the students will hold a farewell dinner at Jerusalem's Diplomat hotel where they have been staying. Some will be returning home and others moving on to tour the Far East.



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# Sports

Armon: Best Sun. 6.45; 9; m: L'As des m: 6.45, 9; Loophole 4, 8; Kerem Martala: The 4, 6.30, 9; Antop: Only 6.45, 9; Peers m. 6.30, 9; World Ac-Mother the 6.45, 9.15; Jobe in Texas main 4; Lly: Oasts: E.T., 9.30; Orden: Jan: Annie, 9.30; Knie m 7.15, 9.30; Cleman 4.30, ootballs 4.30 nner, 9.30 7.15, Sun

Third Kind  
House Five

Star: Close Encounters of the Third Kind  
7: Thal York Car 4: Slaughter House Five



## Taking the Heat



A Nicaraguan soldier standing guard on the Honduran border.

## The Coming Showdown on Central America

The following article is based on reporting by Philip Taubman and Martin Tolchin and was written by Mr. Taubman.

**T**HE Reagan Administration and Congress, like two heavyweights measuring one another in the early rounds of a fight, have so far traded jabs over Central America policy but managed to avoid a damaging brawl. As lawmakers returned to work last week after the Easter recess, it was clear that their accumulated doubts were leading to a more intense conflict in which Congress was prepared not only to challenge Administration policy but to use the power of the purse to change it.

After two years of uneasy but workable relations between the President and Congress on Central America, a senior Defense Department official said, "we're obviously headed into a more difficult period in which Congress will increasingly assert itself."

Immediately at issue were two linked essentials of the Government's policy — military aid to El Salvador and covert intelligence operations targeted against Nicaragua. Neither involved great expenditures of money by Federal standards. The Administration last month proposed an emergency \$110 million military assistance program for El Salvador for the fiscal year that ends in September, with \$60 million to be made available immediately by diverting funds marked for other countries. The exact cost of the covert operations is classified, but security officials estimated the bill for the current fiscal year totals about \$20 million, with roughly the same amount proposed for next year.

But in Congress both issues raised basic questions about the wisdom, efficacy, and at least in the case of the covert activities in Nicaragua, the legality and morality of the Administration's strategy for limiting Soviet and Cuban influence in Central America. The message coming from Capitol Hill seemed to be: We share your desire to stop the spread of Communist involvement in Central America, but we question your means and fear that they may draw the United States into more direct military involvement in the region. Specifically, there was growing anxiety that Administration policy had placed too much emphasis on security assistance and covert military operations and

too little on efforts to find negotiated solutions to the region's conflicts. There also seemed to be concern about moral consistency.

That apprehension was most forcefully expressed by Representative Jim Leach, Republican of Iowa, who said, "U.S. actions against Nicaragua undercut the moral imprimatur upon which U.S. policy in El Salvador is based. In El Salvador we stand foursquarely against those who are armed and financed from abroad and who would shoot their way into power. In Nicaragua we stand foursquarely with such forces and are in fact the financiers of anarchy."

Nicaragua's militia, page 2

These concerns, expressed in the debates over military aid to El Salvador and covert operations in Nicaragua, produced nothing but trouble for the Administration. The military aid request was in so much danger last week that the Administration decided to delay consideration of the measure. "Right now, if we put this before the subcommittee it would lose," said Representative Clarence D. Long, chairman of a House foreign operations subcommittee. Mr. Long, a Maryland Democrat, added, "It would be a public vote and I think the outcry against any money going to El Salvador without restrictions would be so great that I don't think even the President's party would vote for it."

A crowd of committees and subcommittees in the Senate and House, each with slightly different concerns, have asserted jurisdiction over the diversion of the \$60 million. The committees have indicated they want certain assurances from the Administration before they will approve the funding. These include a reaffirmation by President Reagan that the number of American military advisers in El Salvador will not exceed the current ceiling of 55, an effort by the Administration to defend human rights, specifically through improvements in the Salvadoran judicial system, and a promise from the White House that it will work for unconditional discussions between the Salvadoran Government and the guerrillas.

Secretary of State George P. Shultz, while on record in favor of negotiations in El Salvador, told Mr. Long's subcommittee last month, "We will not support negotiations that short-circuit the democratic process and carve up power behind the people's back." The bet-

ting on Capitol Hill last week was that the Administration will eventually get at least part of its military aid package but will have to accept some conditions that will move policy toward negotiations.

The outcome of the developing dispute over covert operations is less certain. The specific question is whether aid that the United States has given to paramilitary forces in Honduras and Nicaragua, including training, weapons and intelligence information, complies with a law passed by Congress last year that prohibits support for any military effort whose purpose is the overthrow of the Government in Nicaragua.

The Central Intelligence Agency, which is responsible for the aid, has told Congress that its activities comply with the law. It says its support for the paramilitary troops has always been for the purpose of harassing the Sandinist Government as a help in interdicting arms shipments to guerrillas in El Salvador. As the anti-Sandinist forces, led by supporters of the late dictator Anastasio Somoza Debayle, increased their activities in Nicaragua in recent weeks and openly vowed to oust the Sandinists, more and more senators and Congressmen have questioned the C.I.A.'s assurances and started to talk seriously about tightening the law.

By last week their doubts had grown into a nascent revolt. Members of the Senate and House intelligence committees, who normally do not talk publicly about intelligence matters, led the way. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Democrat of New York and vice chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, said that a "crisis of confidence" was building between the committee and the intelligence community over this issue.

A few days later, Senator Howard H. Baker Jr., the Republican majority leader, said that many of his colleagues were deeply worried. In the House, W. French Bowles Jr., the Democratic chairman of the committee that oversees C.I.A. covert activities, returned from a visit to

### The shape of aid to El Salvador

(U.S. direct aid for fiscal year 1983, in millions of dollars)

Military aid		Additional requests by the Administration
Allocated by Congress	Purpose	
\$16.5	Credit for training, weapons, parts, ammunition and transport	\$60.0
8.5	Grant to be used for weapons, equipment and ammunition purchases	50.0**
1.3	Military training	
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$26.3</b>	<b>Total \$110.0</b>
Economic aid*		
\$138.0	Direct support to finance imports and restoration of services disrupted by war	0
48.1	Development assistance, including land-reform support	0
39.0	Long term credit for agricultural imports	0
2.0	Provided to an arm of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. in support of free labor movements	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$227.1</b>	
Total military and economic aid allocated		\$253.4
Total requested by the Administration		\$363.4

\*includes \$67 million transferred from other countries' aid allocations. Does not include \$4.8 million distributed to voluntary organizations. \*\*for training and transport only

Sources: State Department, Congressional Budget Office

Central America to assert that the operations in Nicaragua did not fully comply with the law.

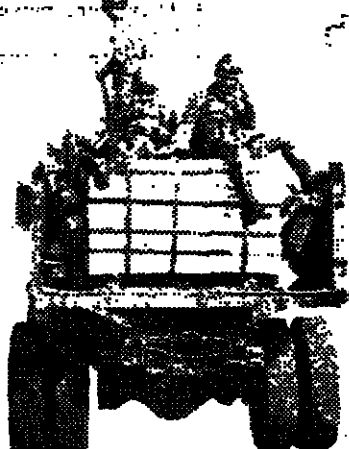
It was the first major dispute between Congress and the C.I.A. over covert operations since Congress got into the business of overseeing the intelligence community in the mid-1970's. It also raised anew many old but unresolved questions about the use of covert operations as an instrument of American foreign policy. Mr. Moynihan, Mr. Bowles and others made clear that much more was at stake than funding for the activities in Central America. "The controversy surrounding our Nicaragua policy raises again the whole question of when and under what conditions and kinds of controls covert actions should be taken," Mr. Bowles said. This week he plans to introduce legislation that would set legal standards for covert operations and give Congress formal veto power over specific activities.

### Congress Is Ambivalent

Congress has never been comfortable with covert intelligence activities and has often worried about the wisdom and morality of secret American involvement in the internal affairs of other countries. Few members of Congress, however, would outlaw all covert activities, and most appear to accept the C.I.A.'s argument that even distasteful clandestine military ventures may sometimes be necessary to combat Soviet subversion. Yet many lawmakers share the strictures expressed by Mr. Leach against getting "into the gutter with violence-prone revolutionaries we so loudly condemn."

Perhaps because of the ambivalent attitudes, as the C.I.A. has increased its use of covert activities in recent years, Congress has rarely exercised its control over the agency's budget to block funding for specific operations. "We've forced the agency to modify some plans and even drop one or two, but our oversight has not always been as tight as it should be," a member of the Senate Intelligence Committee said last week. The legislators are at a disadvantage because they depend to a large extent on the C.I.A. for their information.

As recently as three weeks ago, before the activities in Nicaragua moved into the headlines, a dozen members of the Senate Intelligence Committee said they had no anxiety about the legality of the operations. Some of the same members now express serious doubts. Last year, when the Reagan Administration's top national security officials took stock of where United States policy was at in Central America, they bluntly concluded in a highly classified report that Congress was a major problem. The report, which was leaked to the press and published last week, said in part, "We continue to have serious difficulties with U.S. public and Congressional opinion which jeopardizes our ability to stay the course." It was evident in the debates and comments last week, those difficulties have only become worse.



U.S. arms loaded on a truck at the port of San Salvador last year.

## Major News

### In Summary

#### Signs of Mutiny Among Reagan's Good Soldiers

Three years ago, Ronald Reagan ran the Republican Party to the White House and a G.O.P. majority to the Senate on a ticket of defense and taxes: more of the former, to reararm America, and less of the latter, to revitalize the economy. His Congressional counterparts have been uneasy on the ramparts for some time now. Last week they turned their cannon on the citadel.

First the Senate Budget Committee voted half the increase in military spending the President wanted for 1984. Then five moderate Republicans, all Senators from recession-weakened Northern states, deepened the moat. Voicing the sentiments of many of their colleagues, they called for rollback of the 10 percent income tax cut due to take effect July 1 — the last of three from Mr. Reagan's 1981 economic program — and reversing the indexing of tax rates to inflation, set to begin in 1985.

As the smoke settled, it was hard to tell who was madder. The Budget Committee went against the President because, the Senators said, he

had refused to give an inch to the economic pressures of the Federal deficit and the political presence, after last year's elections, of a better Democratic majority in the House. A White House official, asked what had happened to the much-vaunted bipartisan cooperation with Capitol Hill, snarled: "You want bipartisanship? Well, on Thursday the Senate Budget Committee voted on a bipartisan basis to reject our budget."

Only four of the 12 Republicans on the budget panel voted against holding increases in defense spending authority in the 1984 fiscal year to 5 percent after inflation. That comes to \$267 billion versus the \$280 billion the Administration asked for. Since Mr. Reagan took office, Congress has passed increases of 26 percent.

Last week's vote was widely viewed as a warning that Mr. Reagan might be losing his touch with Congress. If a last accommodation is not reached — James A. Baker 3d, the President's chief of staff, is said to have been authorized "to go put things back together" — the Senate's 5 percent military increase would go to a compromise conference with the lower 4 percent already voted by the Democratic House.

As for taxes and domestic programs, the Senate committee budget-

ers narrow their sights on them this week. The House has already acted. Its resolution calls for a \$17 billion job creation program and \$30 billion in unspecified new taxes, a total it is understood cannot be reached without the rollback the five Senate moderates called for last week.

On revenues, Mr. Reagan remains firm on the barricades. In his national radio address yesterday, he accused liberal Democrats of plotting to reverse economic recovery by eliminating the July tax cut. He did not mention the Senate challenge. But then, the arithmetic is uncomfortable. Subtract five Senators from the 54-member Republican majority, and the Democrats have the floor. On jobs, the President dramatized his position last week with a trip to Pittsburgh and a conference on dislocated workers to talk up retraining. Unem-

Reagan's troubles on arms and arms control

4

ployment in the steel town is 16 percent, nearly twice the rate it was in October 1980, during his last visit.

#### Bishops Rethink The Unthinkable

The Administration won big points last week in a running argument with Roman Catholic churches about the morality of its nuclear policies. A committee of bishops softened earlier support for a halt in production and deployment of nuclear arms, calling instead for a weapons "curb."

Joseph Cardinal Bernardin of Chicago said the new 150-page draft had been made "more flexible" in response to criticism but that it remained "skeptical to the point of disbelief regarding the controlled use of nuclear weapons." The Cardinals and Archbishop John R. Roach of Minneapolis denied, however, that the group had yielded to White House pressure and said it still found much to fault in Mr. Reagan's policies.

"The danger of escalation is so great that it would be an unacceptable moral risk to initiate nuclear war in any form," the bishops said. However, they acknowledged NATO reliance on the deterrent threat to use nuclear weapons first against a Soviet conventional attack. While taking note of the realities of Soviet military power, they warned against "the trap of a form of anti-Sovietism which fails to grasp the central danger" — mutual annihilation. And they remained firm against White House talk of nuclear war-fighting.

On another key issue, the immoral-

ity of nuclear attacks on civilian populations, William P. Clark, President Reagan's national security adviser, told the bishops that "for moral, political and military reasons, the United States does not target the Soviet civilian populations as such." But he added that the United States would reject a policy permitting the sheltering of Soviet strategic weapons near cities.

Mr. Clark said the Administration did not accept all the bishops' judgments but he welcomed their "important and responsible contribution." The State Department found the revised draft "substantially improved" and interpreted the changes as endorsing Administration efforts for "negotiated agreements for substantial, equitable and verifiable reductions in nuclear arsenals."

"Our arguments in this pastoral [letter] must be detailed and nuanced," the bishops explained, "but our 'no' to nuclear war must, in the end, be definitive and decisive." A special meeting of bishops will pass on the report next month in Chicago.

#### All's Well That Upends Well

Everything went swell for the space shuttle Challenger on its maiden voyage, completed yesterday, except for its \$100 million cargo. While astronauts frolicked in the void, the giant communications satellite they deployed soon after arrival in orbit swung around the Earth on a severely warped path.

Correct placement and activation

of the satellite was the most ambitious task yet for the shuttle project, involving complex operations by the astronauts and ground controllers. Soon after the 5,000-pound unit was boosted free, however, it went out of control for nearly three hours. "We are hoping and praying that some miracle will occur to save this mission," said a spokesman. The miracle, or something close enough, came when controllers in White Sands, N.M., suddenly re-established radio contact and then stabilized the maverick. If luck had been otherwise, it would have meant a deep blow to a new network for communicating with the nation's space traffic that will eventually replace most ground tracking stations.

Initial analysis of the mishap cleared the astronauts of blame but condemned the Air Force's new Inertial Upper Stage, a 32,000-pound rocket used to carry payloads from the shuttle's 175-mile-high orbit to a geosynchronous position 22,300 miles up. Developed at a cost of more than \$700 million, the so-called space tug apparently misfired during its second stage thrust. NASA engineers expressed confidence they could bring the satellite into proper orbit, but said the process could take weeks.

A spacewalk of almost four hours went much more smoothly. Two astronauts tested the ability to perform chores outside and put their new \$2.5 million spacesuits through some paces. "While you're looking under the hood, why don't you check the oil?" a Mission Control wag asked. "I don't see any," came the reply. "That's good," said Mission Control. (Shuttle economics, page 22.)

Developing the solutions

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# The World

## A Slippery Rug For Salvador's Defense Chief

As Salvadoran rebels last week launched what they called a campaign to destroy the economy, the Reagan Administration was complaining that Defense Minister José Guillermo García, the man most blamed for allowing the attacks, "had to go." Therein lies a major Administration dilemma in Central America: General García holds the kind of moderate political positions Washington is trying to encourage. He has supported agrarian reform and his help was essential in getting a moderate, Alvaro Magaña, into the presidency. And as the American Embassy in San Salvador argued, it is not as if there's an outstanding candidate to take his job.

Nevertheless, the Administration seemed to be primarily concerned that while it carried out an extensive and much criticized covert operation against Nicaragua, ostensibly to help El Salvador, the Salvadorans were doing very little on their own to win the war. General García was held responsible for poor performance and morale in the armed forces, which allowed the rebels to range far and wide last week, cutting highways and destroying buses, the principal mode of transport. In one of the highest death tolls of the war, guerrillas killed 42 Government soldiers and 12 civilians in an unsuccessful attack on San José Canasque, a town near two important dams.

As part of its effort to upgrade the Government's forces, the Administration has devised a plan to send 100 military advisers to Honduras, then bring Salvadoran soldiers there for training. This would avoid having to augment American personnel in El Salvador or bring Salvadorans to the United States. But it would underscore Honduras's role as a center of American operations against leftist forces in the region. Nicaragua's Defense Minister Umberto Ortega stepped up the rhetoric yesterday by upholding his country's right to station missiles if asked by the Soviet Union.

While debate over the clandestine American role in the fighting in Nicaragua mounted in Congress, a political leader of the Salvadoran rebellion, Melinda Amaya Montes, was assassinated in Managua, the Nicaraguan capital, last week. The followers of the woman known as Commandante Ana Maria, who had been living in Managua for the past year, accused the Central Intelligence Agency of engineering the crime.

A Nicaraguan daily said that Ana Maria had been trying to negotiate a peaceful settlement in El Salvador. If true, she had company. A group of prominent United States and Latin American citizens, many of them former high officials, called on the United States, the Soviet Union and Cuba to hold "a many-sided dialogue" with Central American nations to end the fighting there. Honduras also called for a Central American meeting "as soon as possible" to work out a settlement.

## East Bloc Plans A Summit Too

Soviet Leader Yuri V. Andropov has had a well-founded worry over economic performance since he assumed power in November. Last week, he was reported to have extended these concerns to the entire Soviet bloc by agreeing to the first meeting in 12 years of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

The meeting may occur about the time the seven biggest industrial democracies make their annual try at economic coordination in late May. The council, an instrument for Soviet coordination with its East European satellites and other allies such as Cuba and Vietnam, last met in 1971. It produced a program of economic integration then, with each country specializing in certain categories of production. But overall growth and output have not met their targets, except possibly in Hungary. Poland's record, by its leaders' own admission, has been a disaster. Now the talk is of less state planning and more incentives.

Moscow is said to have resisted past calls for a summit. But Mr. Andropov has shown concern that economic weakness is sapping the bases of Soviet power and has been crusading for higher productivity. The Kremlin was reported last week to have turned its attention to agriculture, the weakest sector of all. Grain production is so embarrassingly low that statistics have not been published since 1981. Mr. Andropov is reportedly planning a drastic overhaul of a state apparatus that is overorganized and overspecialized.

## After Hardball, Resuming Tennis

Hardly anyone in China plays tennis, except on table tops, but the few who do are not to be trifled with. That was quite clear last week after politi-

cal asylum for a 19-year-old tennis player sank Chinese-American relations to a new low. The United States granted refuge to Hu Na, who broke away from the visiting Chinese team in California last summer. China promptly canceled 19 sports and cultural exchanges, including the film "Star Wars," the Julliard Quartet and a visit by the world champion Chinese women's volleyball team, saying Washington had affronted its sovereignty and "hurt the feelings of the Chinese people."

"Overreaction and inappropriate," said the State Department. Peking, however, did not immediately curtail student exchanges or tourism or change its plans to participate in next summer's Olympics in Los Angeles.

Miss Hu used to be the reluctant doubles partner of Deputy Prime Minister Wan Li, whose follow-through, she has said, included lectures on Marxist-Leninism. Mr. Wan, 66, is a key member of the Politburo standing committee and the longtime aide and bridge partner of Deng Xiaoping, China's senior leader. In February, Mr. Deng met Secretary of State George P. Shultz and personally demanded Miss Hu's return.

Most requests for asylum by Chinese from the mainland, Taiwan and Hong Kong have been turned down by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, with guidance from the State Department. (Last year, eight Chinese were accepted and 94 rejected.) The Hu Na case had divided the department between China hands worried by other points of friction and officials who successfully pushed the human rights issue.

Miss Hu, who hopes to play tennis for a small college, said she "didn't feel safe" when the Communist leader of her tennis camp virtually ordered her to join the party, normally a reward and honor. She remembered Zhuang Zedong, the world champion table tennis player who became Sports Minister only to end up disgraced in a labor camp when Peking's leadership changed.

## Vietnam Steps Up War Next Door

Vietnam, which for four years has been trying to extend its writ to all corners of Cambodia, last week stepped up its annual dry season offensive against some of the estimated 45,000 anti-regime guerrillas. The attacks brought world attention back to the Soviet-supported 180,000 Vietnamese troops in Cambodia — a key obstacle to normalization of Chinese-Soviet relations. Indeed, it was a Soviet official, Deputy Foreign Minister Mikhail Kapitsa, who issued a warning that Vietnam would supply arms to insurgents in neighboring countries if they continue supporting the Cambodian guerrillas.

Vietnamese "volunteers" seized a guerrilla camp straddling the ill-defined Thai-Cambodian border, which was used by followers of Pol Pot, the deposed Communist dictator. The Vietnamese then briefly took up positions that Thailand said were 200 yards inside its territory. American-made Thai jets strafed and dropped napalm on the Vietnamese, who later retreated into Cambodia.

In fighting at the Pol Pot camp and another for followers of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the pre-Pol Pot chief of state, the Vietnamese reportedly killed five Thai soldiers. International relief officials said more than 200 civilians also were killed and that more than 45,000 Cambodians had crossed into Thailand.

Washington said it would add \$1.5 million to the \$3 million in emergency medical aid it is already providing through the International Committee of the Red Cross. The United States also announced it would airlift ground-to-air missiles and other weapons. But Thailand said its army could handle the fighting unaided.

## Nudging Israel To Lure Hussein

The Reagan Administration last week tried a new tack to persuade King Hussein of Jordan to join in negotiations about the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza — with or without approval of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Washington hinted it would consider sanctions to freeze the Israeli settlements, which Hussein fears are irreversibly shrinking the prospects for Arab self-determination in the occupied territories.

White House staff members suggested putting part of Israel's \$800-million-a-year economic aid into escrow until the Government reversed itself and agreed to a settlements freeze. The Administration was already holding up delivery of 75 F-16 jet fighters until Israel agrees to withdraw its forces from Lebanon. However, Secretary of State George P. Shultz, who may visit the Middle East soon, reportedly opposed the tactics in the belief that persuasion had a better chance of success.

Using persuasion with Hussein, Mr. Reagan promised him to seek a halt in Israel's West Bank settlement program in return for his participation in talks.

Henry Gliniger  
and Milt Freudenheim

## So Far, Reservists Are Bearing the Brunt of Battle

# Managua Counts a Lot On a Mobilized Militia

By STEPHEN KINZER

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The rundown neighborhood of San Judas, normally alive with activity, was cloaked in sorrow and anger last week after news arrived that two local militiamen recently sent to fight insurgents in the north had been killed in action.

At their funeral, more than 1,000 mourners walked behind the open hearses. As the procession made its way toward the cemetery, relatives and neighbors of the fallen youths wept, consoled each other and shouted slogans of support for the Sandinist Government.

Funerals for militia members have become regular events in Nicaragua since anti-Sandinist invaders launched their military campaign from the Honduran border area five weeks ago. The Government has not released casualty figures, but a military spokesman, Capt. Roberto Sanchez, said that the majority of Government soldiers killed by insurgents have been members of reserve battalions drawn from the 100,000-strong Popular Sandinist Militia.

The militia's role in Nicaraguan life has been growing steadily since it was formed in early 1980, but now that its members are dying in battle, it has won a new level of respect. Originally conceived as a sort of auxiliary police force to guard factories and provide disaster relief, it has become an important source of manpower for the battle against anti-Sandinist rebels.

The Government encourages everyone — men and women — to join the militia and spend a few afternoons a month learning basic military skills. In practice, most of those who sign up are Government employees or members of Sandinist-controlled trade unions, block committees or other "mass organizations."

Those who show special interest or aptitude during their initial training are singled out and invited to join reserve battalions. They receive several weeks of full-time instruction and are then allowed to return to their homes and workplaces to await the call of duty.

In recent weeks, that call has come frequently. Thousands of reservists have been mobilized and sent to the front, where they outnumber regular army troops by about 5 to 1. In combat areas, they are commanded by army officers.

Several explanations have been offered as to why the Sandinists have decided to give reservists the bulk of responsibility in the battle against insurgents. Some officials say the battle zone is so vast that sending regular troops to chase rebel bands would be waste of manpower. Others suggest that the army is being kept in reserve because military planners fear the current skirmishes could be a diversion designed to lure soldiers away from military bases.

## Involving the Population

There is also a political motivation behind the decision to mobilize large numbers of reservists. If only professional soldiers are fighting and dying, it is reasoned, the population will not feel their sacrifice directly. But when young men on leave from their factories or farms are shot down, neighborhoods like San Judas naturally become outraged, and their support for the war effort will presumably be redoubled.

"A lot of this is for morale reasons," said an official at the Foreign Ministry. "It responds to the revolutionary concept that defense is not only a job for the army, but for everyone. When your neighbors are at the front, you naturally feel a greater identification with the struggle."

Militiamen who are mobilized serve an in-

definite period, usually three or four months, before returning home. Soon after the fighting broke out last month, pro-Government newspapers in Managua printed a series of letters from mobilized reservists to their families in which they said their spirits were high and that they were prepared to spend extended tours in battle zones.

To reduce the economic burden of these lengthened tours, the Government last week issued a law requiring employers of militiamen to continue paying their salaries as long as they are on military duty and to keep their jobs open during their absence.

Many original members of the militia were youths from urban slums who fought alongside Sandinist regulars in the final stages of the 1979 revolution. They were initially assigned to provide security at public events, help with crop harvesting and guard the thousands of volunteers who participated in the 1980 literacy campaign.

But because there is no draft in Nicaragua, the militia soon became a vital source of military manpower. Its first commander, Edén Pastora Gómez, said the militia would constitute "the strategic base for the defense of the revolution." But now Mr. Pastora is seeking to overthrow the Sandinist Government after quitting his post as Deputy Defense Minister in 1981 and going into exile in Costa Rica. Last week he was reported to have slipped back into Nicaragua to try to organize his former subordinates against the regime. He has attempted, however, to disassociate himself from Honduran-based dissidents who appear to be led by sympathizers of the late dictator, Anastasio Somoza Debayle, and is reported to favor a peaceful solution that would avoid a leftist takeover. Thus far, in any case, there has been no public evidence of disaffection in the militia ranks that would favor either dissident movement.

"Up to this point, the militia has been made up mostly of kids and old ladies who get together once in a while and wave sticks in the air," said a diplomat who follows military matters here. "But if this fighting continues and large numbers of people from the militia get serious military training, its role could change substantially."



Members of the Popular Sandinist Militia returning to a service in Managua.

United Press International

## France Expelled 47 Soviet 'Legals' Last Week

# Espionage, Too, Has Rules of the Road

By DAVID BINDER

WASHINGTON — When the French Government expelled 47 Soviet citizens as spies last week, the world was treated to yet another large spectacle of the diplomacy of espionage.

Like the 105 Russians sent packing by Britain in 1971, and 100 expelled by Pakistan three years ago, the Russians who boarded a Moscow-bound Il'yushin at Charles de Gaulle Airport were, in the jargon of intelligence operations, "legals." They were agents who operated under legal cover — most as diplomats, some as commercial representatives, a few as journalists. "Legals" are the factory crawlers of the spy profession, scooping up huge amounts of confidential and not-so-confidential information.

In the modern world, most of them leave telltale traces. "We know who most of the intelligence service officers are, or at least we believe we do," said Philip A. Parker, of the F.B.I. intelligence division, of the Soviet bloc "legals."

They stand in sharp contrast to the "illegals," the sleepers, double agents and others who enjoy virtually no protection except their clandestine way of life. One such was Rudolph Abel, who for years successfully posed as a photographer in Brooklyn while functioning as a Soviet master spy. "Illegals" face arrest, imprisonment and, sometimes, the death penalty. With luck they may be traded — as Colonel Abel was in 1962, after 4½ years in prison, for Francis Gary Powers, the U-2 pilot shot down over the Soviet Union.

"Legals" usually go after quantity, finding their catch in technical journals and public government reports. "Illegals" troll for more exotic fish, for example, the access keys to Western cryptography, plans of American reconnaissance satellites and advanced weapons technology they deliver to Moscow.

The Paris roundup, judging from the scant official accounts, was generated entirely by France, on the basis of its highly regarded counterintelligence. The arrest last month of a young Frenchman caught passing industrial secrets to a Russian diplomat may have played a role. No direct link was indicated to the suspicious gunshot death of a high-ranking French intelligence operative in February, or to a Soviet defector.

The magnitude of the expulsions, requiring approval by heads of government, might suggest

that the espionage business was expanding. The official French statement suggested a reason — that the Russians had been conducting a "systematic search on French territory for scientific and technological information." But Russian inquisitiveness about Western technology is hardly novel, having helped provide Moscow with such treasures as the atomic bomb. In the last five years, Mr. Parker said, the number of Soviet bloc "legals" in the United States seems to have remained stable.

## When Blatancy Pays

Spying, a trade of secrets, does not lend itself to easy measurement. But newspaper files indicate that since 1945, at least 1,000 Russians living abroad have been sent home as agents. Many more were quietly traded. Moscow, for its part, expelled perhaps a tenth as many known Western agents in the same period, a knowledgeable American official said — for example, an American embassy official, Richard Osborne, caught "red-handed," Tass said, in an espionage act. A ranking Administration official confirmed Mr. Osborne's intelligence status. Last week, the Soviet Union also expelled a British Embassy military attaché and the correspondent of a Lon-

don newspaper in apparent retaliation for three Russians sent home by Whitehall during the preceding week.

The 47 agents and their families expelled from France included the reputed resident chief of the Soviet Committee of State Security, the K.G.B. Professionals waited for Moscow to retaliate. When Britain expelled 105 Russians, Moscow deported a handful of carefully selected members of the so-called "Russian secretariat" of the British Embassy, experts on the Soviet Union, not spies. "They decapitated the Kremlinologists," an Administration specialist recalled.

Most Western governments harbor "mixed views" about how best to deal with Soviet "legals," he added. The tendency toward a "vigilante approach" is widespread but not dominant. After the French acted, several Pentagon intelligence officials fervently expressed the wish that "we could do that, too." They were held in check, he said, "by the tendency of the professional cop not to want to throw out even one, on the grounds that it's better to have one in hand than several in the bush, and not have to worry whether his replacement picks up his assignment." Mr. Parker of the F.B.I. spoke sympathetically of this view.

Or, the specialist continued, "you might want him to run a little until you find his contacts or who comprises his net." But, he added, "sometimes you have had enough with their blatancy, and you want to send them a signal." He cited the 1978 seizure of three Soviet agents working out of the United Nations, who sought to bribe a Navy officer. "What you had was blatant misuse of the U.N. for espionage purposes," Mr. Parker agreed. The specialist also cited the "legal" deported last year — Maj. Gen. Vasily I. Chitov, purportedly head of Soviet military intelligence in Washington. He was arrested after a car chase, with sensitive documents that he had picked up at what spies call a "dead drop." The F.B.I. was "expecting a small fish and got a big one," said an intelligence official.

In the diplomacy of bigtime espionage the principals occasionally try to draw up rules of the road, a senior Administration official noted. This is done, gangland fashion, to define turf and prevent unnecessary bloodshed. The last attempt, in oral exchanges during the Carter Administration, has not been renewed by President Reagan and Yuri V. Andropov, who became the Soviet leader after heading the K.G.B. for 15 years.



Expelled Soviet diplomat and his family on the way to Charles de Gaulle airport last week.

Gabriel Lelone

Just in case



After the Easter Marches, Many Wonder What's Next

# Ranks of Missile Protesters Have Widened and Deepened

By JOHN VINOCUR

PARIS — After considerable Easter marching, a little obstruction of business at military bases, and enough television air time in Europe to give antinuclear demonstrations the inuring familiarity of holiday traffic jams, what next?

The organizational base of the protesters against the deployment of American Pershing 2 and cruise missiles has expanded and deepened. Main-line political groups have joined the movement in increasing numbers and the anti-Reagan and anti-NATO orientation of the rhetoric has sharpened.

The question of next moves has become central both for the campaign's organizers and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization governments watching them. The Easter demonstrations were an important way station in the keep-them-out or get-them-in struggle over missiles.

They were the first mass protests to include the full register of pressure, short of planned violence, addressed to the governments that are pledged to go ahead with deployment by the end of the year if the Americans and Russians do not reach an agreement on intermediate-range missiles in Europe.

After following an ascending curve for months, particularly in West Germany and Britain, the movement seems to have reached a plateau. The demonstrator-count has started to mean less in influencing the noncommitted. The police give one total and the organizers another, often its double, but no one's hand is stamped, the way they do in discotheques, to see if the protester in Neu Ulm was also counted at the rally in Munich, 75 miles away.

Nonviolent attempts to block access to presumed missile sites in West Germany attracted police intervention but little outrage. They followed the pattern of recent demonstrations at Greenham Common in England, a projected cruise base, which have not succeeded in stopping work there on preparing the missile emplacements.

With lie-ins, speeches, and parades, the Easter events pressed to the edge of the legal possibilities of protest.

Asking what next in an article for the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, A. J. P. Taylor, the British historian, gave a hard answer: "More meetings and more marches and no effect."

Short of finding new recruits for the blockades at the bases, the organizers are a bit stuck. Unless NATO changes its approach to deployment, there will be no Day X when the missiles go in, and thus no natural focus for the opponents. The cruises and Pershings are to arrive unannounced and presumably so late in the fall that the Reagan Administration will have had time to be forthcoming



West German antinuclear demonstrators carrying effigies of President Reagan and Chancellor Helmut Kohl last week.

at the Geneva talks with the Russians. By offering to accept an interim solution on the missiles based on numerical equality, the Americans have already maneuvered some of the antideployment spokesmen into arguing that the concept of a balance of forces is a reactionary, retrograde idea.

The movement in West Germany and Britain seems to be up against another potential difficulty. It has been assumed that its success in rallying opinion against deployment of the missiles was partly attributable to the movement's aura of distance from party politics. But the big novelty of the Easter marches in West Germany was that the Social Democratic Party, after making a point of

keeping away last year, gave its blessing to participation by its members.

The party's intent seemed clear enough — to avoid new losses on the left, particularly among young people, to the Greens. But having the Social Democrats aboard created difficulties for the movement. The party's members were warned to steer clear of violence and Communists during the Easter protests. Now they will be obliged to take a stand on every operational choice the movement makes, which may have a braking effect.

Some veterans of the antimissile campaign view the party's notions of decorum and responsibility as restrictive and conventional.

At the same time, the Social Democrats' involvement may be a windfall for Helmut Kohl, the Christian Democratic Chancellor, and other supporters of NATO deployment. Until now, they have had to argue on difficult terrain — using, against people who have appropriated the word "peace" for their own, the accusation that the demonstrators were serving Soviet aims. Now that the Social Democrats are humped in, there is less need for caution. Indeed, the Christian Democrats counterattacked sharply last week when Oskar Lafontaine, a leading Social Democrat, told marchers that aggressive Reagan Administration policy appeared to eliminate the conceptual basis of NATO as a defensive alliance.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in Britain faces a somewhat parallel situation. Although nearly 70 percent of its members vote for the Labor Party, and Michael Foot, the party leader, is a founder-member, disarmament partisans are wary of associating too closely with Labor when national elections may be imminent.

## Generational Conflict

For one thing, the same polls that show majorities opposed to cruise missiles in Britain report even larger majorities against unilateral disarmament, which is an important element in Labor's latest manifesto. When the campaign begins, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher would thus find the unilateralists attractive prey and may use them as a stick to batter all opponents of deployment.

These factors suggest a possible pause in momentum. But there is no sense that the antimissile campaign is about to wash away. Its strength goes beyond the usual explanations such as diminished confidence in the United States among young Europeans and alarmed reactions to the incautious remarks of Reagan Administration officials about the possibility of nuclear war.

Political, academic and journalistic reputations are now committed, and the protection of careers generates some of the same fervor as fear of war and contempt for the waste of maintaining nuclear arsenals. In a time when NATO deployment countries, young leftists seem to be battling with their elders. The younger generation is pressing for positions on East-West security issues that break substantially with the concepts of the Helmut Schmidts and Harold Wilsons.

When government leaders who must deal with the issues raised by the marches and demonstrations are asked, "what next?" their answers still have the sound of firmness.

"Whoever demonstrates for unilateral disarmament," said Manfred Woerner, the West German Defense Minister, "is making mutual, evenhanded disarmament impossible."



P.L.O. leader Yasir Arafat (left) with King Hussein in Amman last weekend.

## For P.L.O., a 1st-Class Trip To Nowhere?

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

AMMAN, Jordan — At the end of a news conference by the Palestine Liberation Organization last week, reporters cornered its top military commander, Khalil al-Wazir, and pounded him with questions about why the P.L.O. would not give Jordan a mandate at least to explore what could be gained from the Reagan peace initiative. Growing increasingly exasperated, the commander finally shot back, "What is in it for the P.L.O.?"

It was a revealing moment. There is virtually nothing in the Reagan plan for the P.L.O. as an institution. The plan proposes the establishment of a self-governing Palestinian entity in the West Bank and Gaza strip linked with Jordan, but assigns no role to the P.L.O. as long as it refuses to recognize Israel's right to exist. Negotiations for the Arab side would be conducted by Jordan and a delegation of non-P.L.O. Palestinians. But while the American initiative holds out little for the P.L.O. itself, it offers a great deal to West Bank Palestinians who hope to rule themselves and avoid having their land absorbed into the Jewish state. The P.L.O.'s refusal last week to give King Hussein any kind of green light on the Reagan plan raises the question, as one Jordanian cabinet minister put it, "whether the P.L.O. isn't more interested in preserving itself rather than part of Palestine."

At any rate, P.L.O. chairman Yasir Arafat underscored his differences with Hussein last week by going to Kuwait to confer, then delaying his scheduled return to Amman to complete his discussions with the King.

After Saudi Arabia, the P.L.O. is probably the most overrated political actor in the Middle East. The P.L.O.'s presence in Beirut for 13 years — where it enjoyed a wide and often uncritical exposure to a large diplomatic community and an international press corps — helped it assume an image that was often larger than life. This image tended to obscure the P.L.O.'s own internal weaknesses and the rather limited quality of its leadership. The Israeli invasion last summer dispelled the myth of the P.L.O. as a guerrilla power and events since the summer have begun to raise questions about it as a political institution as well.

The fact that the organization had an independent base of operations in Lebanon enabled Mr. Arafat to avoid making some of the toughest decisions. When the diplomatic options were not to Mr. Arafat's liking he could always go back to Beirut and say he was going to pursue the armed struggle. Because he controlled a piece of strategically located ground no one could ignore him for long. One day Mr. Arafat would hint at recognizing Israel and the next he would talk of destroying it. But at no time did he lay down a realistic strategy for doing either. His was a game of endless maneuvers.

## Two Choices for Arafat

Having lost Lebanon, Mr. Arafat is now in a much more difficult position. He no longer has a tree house to climb into when the diplomatic heat is on. The Israelis have virtually removed any serious P.L.O. option for "armed struggle" and the quickening pace of Israeli settlement-building in the West Bank has made it imperative for the Palestinians, and the Jordanians, to work out a credible diplomatic formula that will preserve the land for Arab sovereignty before there is no land left.

In these circumstances, the old P.L.O. seems finished. Mr. Arafat now appears to have two choices. He can take a clear-cut political decision to negotiate with Israel or mandate Jordan to do so, accepting that this would split his organization. Or he can continue to live in an air plane, fly around on state visits to the 100-odd countries that recognize the P.L.O. and watch as his organization gradually becomes politically irrelevant.

Mr. Arafat has indicated to King Hussein in private that he would very much like to get involved in the negotiating process. His problem is that he can't pay the entry fee — recognition of Israel or authorization of Jordan to speak on his organization's behalf — unless he has some guarantee, not only that Israel will halt its settlement activity, but that the Palestinians will get land back. Israel has not made it any easier for Mr. Arafat by rejecting the Reagan initiative and opposing a freeze on settlements.

Washington has recognized the problem. Hence President Reagan's promise to Hussein last week that in return for his joining the proposed negotiations, the United States would seek to bring about a halt in Israeli settlements in the West Bank.

Mr. Arafat might have had a lot more room to maneuver at this time had he crushed the extremists within his organization when he had them under his thumb in Beirut. Even his colleagues will admit that Mr. Arafat, unlike other successful revolutionary leaders, has never really faced down the radicals in his organization. As a result, the P.L.O. today is a hodgepodge of pro-Syrian, pro-Iraqi, pro-Libyan and pro-Arafat factions, all of whom the leader has to poll before he can make a decision.

"Because the P.L.O. is now so dispersed and loaded down with internal contradictions, it can't agree on anything that falls short of 100 percent of its objectives," a European diplomat said. "But the P.L.O. simply is not in a position to be demanding 100 percent from anyone."

Rather than make any decision that could split the organization or deprive it of a central role in any peace negotiations, the leadership appears to prefer to postpone matters and hope that somehow conditions will change to its advantage. In the meantime, the bureaucracy seems likely to survive. The corporate instinct of the leadership should not be underestimated. It has become a way of life for hundreds of men. There are offices to go to, lots of conferences to attend around the world and an endless stream of internal meetings to take part in. The pay isn't bad and for senior officials there is always a Mercedes.

Somewhere along the way, a Western diplomat in Amman remarked, the P.L.O. seems to have become so involved with the "revolution" and the "cause" that it has lost touch with the reality on the ground. After every Arab-Israeli war, it decides that it might be ready to accept what it could have had before the hostilities began, but which may be impossible now.

"It all reminds me of one of those characters out of a Dickens novel, who is pursuing a case through the civil courts for 30 years," remarked the diplomat. "The legal case becomes everything and he forgets that he could have settled it out of court and been back to work a long time ago. The P.L.O. is so obsessed with the revolution with a capital 'R' that it has forgotten about the land with a capital 'L.'"

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# The Nation

## Ex-Senators Urge Major Reform of Senate Rules

The United States Senate could become a much more efficient legislative machine under rule-change proposals submitted last week — unless the new rules become captives of the old.

The changes would, among other things, limit the power small groups can exert on legislation through filibustering and other delaying tactics. Such changes would "scare some people to death," said Senator Howard H. Baker Jr. of Tennessee, the Republican majority leader, and are likely to face tough opposition.

The proposals, from a study commissioned by the Rules and Administration Committee, were fashioned by retired Senators James B. Pearson, Republican of Kansas, and Abraham A. Ribicoff, Democrat of Connecticut. Besides limiting debate and making it easier to end filibusters, they would limit the practice of attaching controversial riders — such as school prayer and abortion measures — to "must" legislation.

Some conservative Senators — Jesse Helms, Republican of South Carolina, in particular — nettled legislative leaders with such tactics last year. Senator Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, the Democratic minority leader, said Republican leaders were "very much in the mood"

for reform "because of the problem within its own ranks last fall."

He was referring to a period of several weeks during which, in his words, "a little determined handful" of conservatives stalled legislation, including the gasoline tax bill, supported by a majority of their colleagues. After much acrimony, the measures were passed.

Other ideas include setting annual agendas and weekly schedules for Senate business; appointing one senator as permanent presiding officer to strengthen the largely figurative authority of the chair; eliminating the Budget Committee, along with six others; stretching the budget process over two years instead of taking it up annually; and prohibiting senators from bringing up an issue more than once in a session.

Hearings on the proposals are to begin May 9 before the Rules Committee, headed by Senator Charles McC. Mathias, Republican of Maryland. Senator Mathias seemed serious about making at least some changes aimed at curbing what he said was the Senate's "very serious problem in reaching decisions."

## Haven From The Wars

Hundreds of illegal aliens attending church today won't have to travel very far — they are among thousands being sheltered or otherwise aided by

churches around the country and across the theological spectrum. Such borderline civil disobedience in the face of the Refugee Act of 1980, but Immigration officials acknowledged last week that they intend to do little about it.

Most of those granted sanctuary are among the 300,000 who have fled wars in Guatemala and El Salvador and are being sent back at the rate of 1,000 a month. Tens of thousands sought political asylum in the United States last year; all but the 79 who got it are considered deportable.

Most feel that they would be imprisoned or killed if they returned. But the law requires that they prove the existence of such threats to the Justice Department and to the Immigration and Naturalization Service before they can be designated political refugees.

"The refugees live in constant terror of being sent back," said the Rev. Brian Karvalis of Brooklyn. He said that about a dozen Brooklyn churches were aiding Salvadoran refugees.

So are more than 500 others in the country, according to Dan Dale of the Chicago Religious Task Force on Central America. The concept of sanctuary for Central Americans has spread to the point that "every organized church in America is involved or contemplating being involved," he said.

That has raised thorny questions. Some church leaders skirt the issue of whether they are committing or espousing anything illegal. In a recent statement, the United Methodist Church urged members to "reflect on this act of civil disobedience against the light of the Gospel." Among Catholics, Auxiliary Bishop Anthony J. Bevilacqua of Brooklyn said he remained "opposed to sanctuary because it is illegal."

Washington doesn't seem to know which way to jump. An Immigration Service spokesman said that "provides for sanctuary." But she added that no crackdown on those giving or receiving it was planned. "We have

absolutely no intention of provoking any confrontation with any church," she said.

## An 8-to-1 'No' To Nuclear Waste

In 1982, Congress gave President Reagan five years to select the first of five national dump sites for highly radioactive nuclear waste. Voters in Wisconsin last week became the first to declare that they don't want their state considered for the honor.

In a light turnout, residents declined to support construction of such

a dump by a ratio of 8 to 1. Wisconsin was not mentioned among the possible dump sites that the Department of Energy either has proposed or is expected to nominate, but Representative Les Aspin, Democrat of Wisconsin, has said that the nature of his state's bedrock formation might make it attractive as a storage site.

The Energy Department's Geologic Repository Division has suggested sites in Washington state and Nevada and is expected to add Texas, Utah, Mississippi and Louisiana to the list from which the President must select the first site by 1987.

That Wisconsin did not want to be included as a potential repository for

wastes produced by nuclear weapons plants and reactors came as no surprise. Its view of things nuclear was reflected last year in its approval of the nation's first statewide referendum calling for a nuclear weapons freeze.

Caroline Rand Herron, Carlyle C. Douglas and Michael Wright

## A Correction

In *The Week in Review* of April 3, total employment in the United States in March was understated. It is 100,767,000.

## A Final Opinion That's Surprisingly Far From Final

WASHINGTON — The Supreme Court, after laboring for five months on what was expected to be one of the more important civil rights cases of the term, last week brought forth a cryptic five-page opinion that resolved very little and raised one obvious question.

What took the Court so long to do so little?

The case was an appeal by the Federal Government in an employment discrimination suit brought by a black postal worker who had been passed over for promotion. It raised the important question of what evidence a plaintiff must present at the initial stage of a job discrimination suit.

The initial phase of every discrimination suit is crucial. Only after the plaintiff establishes a "prima facie case" of apparent discrimination does the burden of proof switch to the employer to show why the failure to hire or promote was legitimate.

The United States Court of Appeals here ruled that the postal worker, Louis H. Alken, established his prima facie case by showing that he was qualified for the promotion and that he didn't get it. Earlier Supreme Court cases had apparently endorsed that simple test. This time, the Government asked the Court to rule that a prima facie case required something more — evidence, for example, that the plaintiff was not just minimally qualified but at least as well qualified as the successful applicant.

In an opinion by Associate Justice William H. Rehnquist, the Court neither agreed nor disagreed.

Saying virtually nothing on the subject, it unanimously sent the case back to the trial court with instructions to decide the merits of Mr. Alken's claim "without mechanized or ritualistic attention to whether he established a prima facie case. The result of

lowed civil rights lawyers to claim victory, in the sense that a setback had been avoided, but provided little guidance for future cases. Lawyers who followed the case could only guess that Justice Rehnquist had tried and failed to persuade a majority to accept the Government's arguments.

The opinion may represent a common judicial denominator of exhaustion and frustration with the issue of racial equity in the workplace. If so, there are long days ahead. The fact that the Court has trouble resolving these cases has not curbed its appetite for trying.

Later this month, the Court will hear arguments in the Boston firefighters' case, which raises the difficult question of whether the courts can protect the jobs of recently hired blacks by requiring that whites with more seniority be laid off first. It may make last week's case look easy.

—LINDA GREENHOUSE

## Rejection of 10 Percent Increase in Defense Spending Stunned and Angered the White House

# On Arms and Arms Control, Serious New Warning Signals



Senators Jim Sasser (left), J. Bennett Johnston, Joseph R. Biden Jr., Pete V. Domenici and Lawton Chiles at a Senate Budget Committee meeting last week.

By STEVEN R. WEISMAN

WASHINGTON — In White House lingo, President Reagan and his aides got a heavy dose of "reality therapy" last week, administered by their Republican allies in Congress. In perhaps the sharpest legislative setback of his Presidency, Mr. Reagan found the Senate Budget Committee unmoved by his claim that anything less than his proposed 10 percent increase in military spending (after inflation) for 1984 would bring "joy to the Kremlin."

The committee gave him half of the increase. Defense spending was only one difficulty for White House legislative strategists. Despite Mr. Reagan's campaign on behalf of his arms control proposals, the House of Representatives appeared close to approving a measure calling for a "freeze" on nuclear weapons at current levels by the Soviet Union and the United States. The President's nomination of Kenneth L. Adelman to serve as head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency was in deep trouble in the Senate. So was the Administration's \$110 million military aid package for El Salvador.

Finally, there is anxiety about the prospects for Mr. Reagan's request for funds for the MX missile, for which the President's Commission on Strategic Forces is due to recommend a new basing mode tomorrow. Congress rejected MX funding last year because it didn't like the Administration's proposal to place the missile in a closely spaced cluster near Cheyenne, Wyo. Already there are signs it may not go along with this year's plan, which is said to be to base 100 MX's in existing silos.

The cluster of foreign policy issues has led some to ask whether Mr. Reagan has simply lost his touch with Congress. At the White House, however, many reasons are cited for the congruence of problems. Some say that simply by coincidence long-deferred issues are forcing themselves to the top of the agenda. International events — the deteriorating situation in El Salvador, the stalemate with the Soviet Union at the arms talks in Geneva — are described as the main cause. But many also see the hand of William P. Clark, the national security adviser, pressing White House aides to deal with messy realities overseas that had been less attended to when less influential aides were in command of foreign policy.

As on El Salvador, Mr. Clark was described as the key to the President's approach on defense spending. For weeks, the leaders of the "legislative strategy group" at the White House — including Mr. Baker, Richard G. Darman, a presidential assistant, and Kenneth M. Duberstein, the Congressional liaison — have favored showing some flexibility. But Mr. Clark sided with Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger in insisting that there was no room for compromising at less than the \$1.6 trillion military build-up planned for the next five years.

Not until after the Senate Budget Committee voted late on Thursday did Mr. Reagan authorize Mr. Baker, Mr. Darman and Mr. Duberstein to try to salvage a deal at something under his target figure. "Baker, Darman and Duberstein kept telling everybody what was going to happen," said a White House aide. "But there was abso-

lutely no flexibility here until the vote." In the words of another White House aide, "reality therapy" had indeed proved therapeutic. But there remained the question of how long Senator Pete V. Domenici, chairman of the Senate budget panel, would stay angry over the White House's previous intransigence. Asked if the White House could compromise with Mr. Domenici at a 7.5 percent defense increase for 1984, a White House aide said: "I'm not sure we can. There's a lot of animosity up there."

Several White House officials say they don't quarrel

with Mr. Clark's insistence on dealing with pressing foreign policy matters, but that certain legislative and political realities need to be taken into account. Should Mr. Reagan, for example, have spent so much rhetoric on a 10 percent defense increase when several aides were predicting that something less was inevitable? Should Mr. Reagan have refused to compromise when Mr. Baker and others felt that such intransigence would hurt his cause?

Lurking behind these questions of legislative strategy were some political realities turning up in the latest opin-

## The Budget Act of 1974 Is a Current and Striking Example

# Some Remedies Have Unwanted Side Effects

By MARTIN TOLCHIN

WASHINGTON — When Congress passed the budget act in 1974, it was envisioned as an instrument for restoring fiscal authority to the legislative branch. By setting its own priorities, Congress would become "a more respected institution and a more effective partner in Government" with the executive branch, argued former Representative Al Ullman, the Oregon Democrat who was chairman of the Ways and Means committee at the time.

Few foresaw that the budget would wipe virtually all other legislation off Congress's agenda, as it did last year. Or that a President could use the budget act, as Ronald Reagan did, to impose his will on Congress by lobbying through a single package that repealed or amended more than 400 separate bills. This year, with the job bill and Social Security rescue legislation done, the Federal balance sheet is again expected to dominate. Last week, the Senate Budget Committee gave Mr. Reagan half of the 10 percent increase in military spending (after inflation) that he sought. But both sides said the battle was far from over.

The history of the budget act underscores both the difficulties of trying to predict economic, social and political terrain and the adroitness of those who know how to exploit the system. It is a striking example of the unintended consequences of legislation. Such results, often anticipated by either supporters or opponents of a measure, are cited by those who believe that Congress should act slowly and deliberately. The sad truth is that they have derived as much from legislation that took decades as from bills enacted overnight. "I tend to think of the launching of all programs as launching unguided missiles," Herbert Kaufman, a political scientist at the Brookings Institution, said. "Legislation tends to take on a life of its own. If you take a long enough view, everything has unintended consequences."

An aide to the Senate Budget Committee put it succinctly: "We never really know what we're doing." How else explain the American Medical Association's steadfast opposition to Medicare, which has come to enrich the nation's physicians? Or organized labor's insistence that election law reforms not limit the participation of political action committees, which have since become an effective tool for business groups?

## Cynicism and Myopia

Some unintended consequences can derive from naiveté or cynicism. Some are the result of myopia. "Reformers have their eyes on a specific evil, and have a specific remedy," noted Austin Ramsey, a political scientist at the American Enterprise Institute. "Talk of other consequences is regarded as 'scare tactics' and anti-reform," he said. Representative James R. Jones, the Oklahoma Democrat who is chairman of the House Budget Committee, added that the targets of reform "are usually savvy enough to move onto something else. It was perceived that we had to do something about campaign financing, and the people with savvy moved to the PAC's."

Then too, legislation is oversold. The Kemp-Roth tax cut was based on a theory, supply-side economics, according to which Federal revenues would increase as taxes declined, because lower taxes would boost economic productivity. Supporters argue more time is needed to prove their point. But the Congressional Budget Office projects that the tax cut will cost \$32.8 billion in revenues by the 1986 fiscal year.

Legislation also is undersold, sometimes deliberately. The costs of entitlement programs such as food stamps, Medicare and Medicaid, and black lung benefits, far exceeded the expectations of their early supporters. The collective cost of these programs more than doubled since 1976 — from \$20.3 billion to \$47.6 billion — in part due to the drastic effect of changes in the rates of mem-

ion surveys taken by Richard Wirthlin, the President's pollster. They indicated that Mr. Reagan's recent pronouncements on defense spending, arms talks and Central America were troubling to the voters. The fear at the White House was that all the effort last year to project Mr. Reagan as a man primarily committed to keeping the peace was being squandered this year in a largely unsuccessful effort to rally the public and the Congress around his foreign policy positions.

## The Peace and War Issue

In these fears lay a remarkable development in the recent history of the Presidency. For decades, Presidents have found that they could generate popular support in times of domestic troubles by turning to foreign policy matters. Mr. Reagan seems clearly apart from that tradition. That gives some clues to the nature of his victory in 1980, and to the kind of campaign he would have to wage to win re-election in 1984. The long-held view of the President's political advisers — that Mr. Reagan's political fortunes rise or fall on the economy — has hardly been disturbed by recent events.

The fact is also that international setbacks can hurt Mr. Reagan politically. Last week came a warning from Soviet Marshal Victor Kulikov, commander of the Warsaw Pact forces, about "gathering clouds of war" and a report that an American Air Force colonel suggested that the United States would move toward a doctrine of launching its missiles at the first warning of a Soviet attack. These were the sorts of developments that could send jitters through the American public, raising concerns dating back to 1980 about whether Mr. Reagan's commitment to maintaining the peace is his highest priority.

In fact, to help defuse the atmosphere, the President last week decided to put off an immediate endorsement of the MX commission's recommendation. The White House wants to get past the battle in the House over the freeze resolution this week and the Adelman nomination fight before embarking on the uphill for a new missile in the American strategic arsenal.

employment, inflation and interest. But had the initial projections been more realistic, the programs would have encountered far more opposition. A classic example of underselling was the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, passed in August 1964, five days after an American destroyer was fired upon by North Vietnamese PT boats. Floor debate indicates that Congress believed that it was merely affirming President Johnson's order that American ships return enemy fire. Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia, then one of the powers of the Senate, told his colleagues: "The resolution is intended to demonstrate that Congress approves the retaliatory action that has been taken in defense of our flag. What is involved is our right as an individual state to operate our vessels upon international waters. Our national honor is at stake."

The resolution was considered so uncontroversial that it passed the House 414-0, and the Senate 88-2. It affirmed Congress's support of all United States measures needed to repel armed attack against American forces, prevent further aggression and assist nations protected by the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty. Although South Vietnam was not a party, it was included by protocol. The resolution was then used by President Johnson as the basis for United States involvement in the Vietnam war. (The use of the resolution itself produced a string of unintended consequences, including the War Powers Act of 1973, which some critics of increased involvement in Central America are talking about now.)

This year may have already produced its own classic in the genre of unintended results: the \$4.8 billion job bill enacted last month. Proponents argued that remedy for the recession was crucial; opponents noted that such bills take so long to implement that they rarely bring relief in time. History shows that job bills often prove to be pork-barrel. But perhaps that is what Congress intended all along.



# Amfac at a Tropical Crossroad

Earnings aren't yet solid and G. & W.'s plans are in doubt as a new chief steps in.

By PETER DWORIN

HONOLULU  
HIGH in the lush, misty mountains above Amfac Inc.'s 1,300-acre Kaaunapali Beach Resort on Maui, the view is of sweeping lime-green sugar cane fields, golf courses and a beach dotted with gleaming hotels and condominiums. It was here that Charles G. Bluhdorn talked of building a home during a visit nearly 10 years ago. "He was just enchanted with Kaaunapali," recalls Henry A. Walker Jr., Amfac's chief executive and chairman.

Mr. Bluhdorn, the Gulf and Western Industries founder who died two months ago, never built his Hawaiian dream house. But for upwards of a decade, his Manhattan conglomerate has owned about 25 percent of Amfac, Hawaii's largest company. Mr. Bluhdorn, once a sugar trader, protected asset-rich Amfac like a dozing uncle, neither significantly adding to his shares nor selling them.

But Mr. Bluhdorn's death and a new management team at G. & W. is creating uncertainty about the future of those 25 percent shares—all at a time when Amfac is already at a crossroads. This month a new chief executive, Myron Du Bain, who was chief of the American Express Company's Fireman's Fund Insurance Company, succeeds Mr. Walker, who has built up Amfac and run it with a firm grip for 15 years.

Mr. Du Bain's formidable job is to build solid earnings on top of Amfac's enchanting assets—which include 60,000 acres in sugar plantations and resorts on the islands; Hawaii's leading department stores, and mainland businesses in food processing, retailing, horticulture, hotels and wholesale distribution. Like Mr. Bluhdorn, Mr. Du Bain is not yet constructed.

"There has been a lot of groping around at the corporate level to see where this company is going," said John Hoffmann, first vice president at Smith Barney, Harris Upham & Company.

Mr. Walker, a large free-wheeling man whose family has been in Hawaii for three generations, diversified Amfac out of its narrow base in Hawaii and out of sugar. But profits have been unpredictable for several years and considerably dependent on asset sales. The stock, which is trading now at about \$28 a share, has bobbed up and down with sugar prices and has consistently been valued below the book value, which is \$34 a share. Meanwhile, Amfac's real estate market value, based on the company's land in Hawaii and a few highly profitable businesses, exceeds \$100 a share, in Mr. Hoffmann's view.

The disparity has long made Amfac vulnerable to investors tempted by its rich assets. The Bass family of Fort Worth bought 1.6 million Amfac shares and made a swift profit last year, essentially by swapping them for an interest in some of the company's best properties at Kaaunapali and elsewhere. While Mr. Walker calls the deal "beneficial," others fear it could be a precedent for its dismemberment.

There is speculation, too, that Gulf and Western may sell its block to a

Peter Dworkin writes on economics and business for The San Francisco Chronicle.



Amfac chairman Henry Walker has made the sugar fields less important.

potential acquirer at a sizable premium over the market price or even offer to merge the two companies.

Amfac's shareholders might welcome some fireworks. Says one sizable investor in the company: "If a tender is made above \$30 a share, I'll certainly jump in a hurry. The stock hasn't moved past \$35 a share in 15 years."

But Gulf and Western's new chief executive, Martin S. Davis, a former Paramount Pictures president and an executive vice president of G. & W., under Mr. Bluhdorn, says that while most of the company's \$750 million investment portfolio will gradually be sold to reduce G. & W.'s \$2 billion in long-term debt, the \$100 million Amfac position will stay in the family exactly as before.

"We like the company and we like the investment," he said in a telephone interview from his office in New York. "Amfac's operations have potential, and obviously the land is way undervalued. There is tremendous potential for appreciation."

Still, most observers believe that Amfac's independence is less than assured. For one thing, Mr. Davis must contend with potential takeover threats posed by investors Carl Lindner and Carl Icahn. Since February, Mr. Lindner has increased his stake in G. & W. to 9.4 percent from 8.6 percent, and Mr. Icahn, since then, has

acquired at least 2.9 percent.

Mr. Walker, looking relaxed in his 21st-floor office high above Honolulu harbor, says he believes Gulf and Western will hold its block. But he concedes, "Mr. Davis is not Mr. Bluhdorn. Although I consider him a friend, he's not in a position to make anybody any promises of that kind."

The 61-year-old Mr. Walker will represent Amfac's case before G. & W., of which he is a director. But after April 20, when Amfac's directors are expected to elect Mr. Du Bain, 58, as chief executive, the Amfac chairman says he will pull back from the day-to-day affairs of the Hawaiian company that has been a fixture in his life since childhood. He decided several years ago that he would vacate the chief executive's job because, he says, "a new style is exciting and mine isn't new anymore."

Though Amfac was not a Walker dynasty, his father served as president from 1933 to 1950. Henry Walker Jr. grew up smelling Kona coffee, then an Amfac product, being roasted at the old headquarters. At age 12 he hauled bundles of cane at the Maui sugar mill above Kaaunapali. After studying at Harvard and Columbia, he returned to Hawaii to work as an Amfac trainee.

Since becoming chief executive in 1967, Mr. Walker has focused on selling small portions of the company's land downy and plowing the cash

across the ocean into current and new businesses. Among the strongest and most profitable units are a \$1 billion wholesale distribution business and a producer of frozen French fries. "We've sort of bootstrapped the com-

## FOR ONE FAMILY, A QUICK PROFIT

In some quarters, Amfac's valuable real estate makes the stock a solid bet for patient investors. But the Bass family of Fort Worth recently earned big stock profits from Amfac's treasure of Hawaiian properties in a matter of months.

The family, which has interests in oil, land and hotels, bought 1.6 million Amfac shares, or 11 percent of the company, in several bites in 1981 and 1982. The price, while not disclosed, probably averaged about \$22.50 a share. Soon after that, Amfac and the Basses set up a special partnership: The Texans contributed their stock and Amfac kicked in most of its choicest developed resort lands and buildings.

Then the partners borrowed \$123 million, secured by the assets, from a group led by Merrill Lynch Private Capital Inc. The Texans took back \$52.5 million in cash, or \$32.58 a share, for a sizable profit.

While the deal looks like a tropical delight for the Basses, Henry A. Walker Jr., Amfac's chairman, believes it is "nifty" for Amfac, too. With the

Basses beside them, the company was able to get a loan that didn't show up on its balance sheet at a time when the company was pushing against borrowing limits set by loan covenants. Amfac took back \$69.7 million, which it is using to renovate hotels and reduce short-term borrowings.

But probably most important, "We were able to get" the Bass stock "locked up somewhat under our control," says Robert Z. Rostron, a senior Amfac executive who proposed the partnership to the Basses at a Palm Springs meeting last year. The shares belong to the partnership and can't be sold without the agreement of both parties.

Mr. Walker maintains that he didn't give up anything to neutralize the Bass Brothers. When the partnership does sell the real estate properties, a move that is expected over the next five to seven years, Amfac will reap the profits up to predetermined appraised values, which Mr. Walker says were set "at the high end of the range mainly to give comfort to lenders." Above those levels, the partners will split the booty evenly.

## WEEK IN BUSINESS

# Bank-Buying Binge Gets a Yellow Light

The Reagan Administration, eager to bring order out of the regulatory chaos in the financial industry, proposed a "moratorium" on the purchase of banks by nonbanks. Treasury Secretary Regan urged state governments and Federal regulators to hold off, at least for the rest of this year, on allowing companies to use a loophole-turned-chasm in the Glass-Steagall Act as a way into the banking business. He said this would give Congress time to decide for itself just who should be able to buy a bank. It might also settle the tiff between the Comptroller of the Currency, who has been quick to approve bank purchases, and the go-slow Federal Reserve. Mr. Regan's moratorium would exclude brokerage firms, which, he said, would still be allowed to buy S. & L.'s.

That's exactly what Thomson McKinnon wanted to hear. The Wall Street securities firm agreed to buy First Federal Savings & Loan Association of Madison, Conn., for \$10 million, thus becoming the first broker to buy an S. & L. It won't be the last. After years of watching the banks gobble up discount brokers, the securities firms are starting to fight back. Merrill Lynch—Treasury Secretary Regan's old firm—as well as Shearson/American Express are looking more warily at the thrifts and their billions of dollars of deposits.

Biscayne Federal, one of Florida's



largest S. & L.'s, could be one of the brokers' next targets. It was declared insolvent by the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, which is now soliciting bids for the \$2 billion thrift institution. The F.H.L.B.B.'s action came after a long history of financial problems at Biscayne—problems that management and Kaufman & Broad, its largest investor, said were nearing an end. "We're shocked and incensed by the arbitrary and capricious actions" on the part of the board, management said. So were Biscayne's 1,500 share-

holders, who, unlike depositors, have no insurance protection.

Consumer confidence soared last month. The Conference Board reported that its index of buyers' sentiment rose more than 10 points in March—the largest monthly gain in nine years—to its highest level ever. Said the board's top economist: "Widely expressed fears that the economic recovery will be less than robust because of cautious consumer spending may prove unfounded."

The strength of chain-store sales lends support to that view. Dayton-Hudson, May, Federated and K. Mart were just a few of the big retailers that reported double-digit sales gains in March. Sears' gains were a bit lower, but the company said that January, February and March were the best three consecutive months since the summer of 1981.

Auto makers wished they could say the same. But their dismal showing in March, when the Big Three's new-car deliveries rose a mere 2.8 percent, indicated that car buying could be mired at the depressed annual rate of 6 million units for many more months. Somewhat nervous about that prospect, Detroit has already scaled back plans to increase second-quarter output by 10 percent. That's particularly disturbing to economist Sam Nakag-

ma, who remembers that it was a \$7 billion plunge in auto output that sent the G.N.P. to its 1.1 percent decline in last year's fourth quarter.

The stock market wasn't so impressed. The Dow Jones average closed the week at 1,124.71, down 5.32 points. Investors began to doubt the recovery's strength, despite a report by the nation's purchasing managers that the economy grew in March and that new orders were at their highest level in nearly six years. But Goldman Sachs, in its Portfolio Strategy report, said share prices were still headed higher—perhaps as much as 20 percent over the next 18 months.

President Reagan sought more power to curb exports of strategic goods by asking Congress to amend and renew the Export Administration Act. Congressional leaders are fearful of the new act's impact on trade and employment. And well they should be. Data Resources Inc. estimates that the deteriorating United States trade position will cut six-tenths of 1 percent from G.N.P. this year, a hefty amount for an economy expected to grow only 4 to 5 percent in 1983. Common Market leaders, remembering that the act was used to block European and American companies from supplying the Siberian pipeline, are more concerned about a repeat performance.

Lewis D'Vorkin

# The Economy

pany," he recalls, from \$100 million in capital to \$800 million today.

He bought 97 companies and sold 11 to wean Amfac from Hawaii and an addiction to uncertain sugar profits. Today only 25 percent of the company's revenues come from Hawaii and only 5 percent stem from sugar.

But Mr. Walker's march toward the mainland hasn't completely kicked Amfac's sugar habit or stabilized earnings. A sugar boom carried net income to a record \$78.1 million in 1980, but the following year sugar prices soured and the company lost \$30 million on the sweeter. Still, its diversification helped Amfac post overall net earnings of \$44.2 million for 1981.

Since then, the recession has ravaged profits. Earnings slid to \$34.2 million last year, despite only a slim loss from sugar. And Amfac expects to report a "modest" loss for the first quarter of 1983. The results should improve in the second half of the year if the economy recovers, but not all Amfac's problems come from the recession.

Amfac's wholesale distribution and food processing groups are strong earners. But in hotels, horticulture and retailing, operating profits, excluding gains on assets sold, have been on the skids for three years. Some former Amfac executives fault poor acquisitions, which they say the company refuses to shed. One director, bitter about the company cashing in real estate to purchase new businesses, has been known to tell executives, "It's like a zoo. You keep getting all these animals and you have to feed them."

Amfac's earnings picture is complicated by a program of annual land and hotel sales, mostly at Kaaunapali. The company records gains from these sales as ordinary income, and not as a special gain, on the theory that it is in the land-development business. But in some years these property sales overshadow what the company earns from its operations. In 1981, these asset sales accounted for 39 percent of net earnings; last year, the figure soared to 62 percent.

The gap between Amfac's promise and performance has raised the question of whether shareholders would be better off if big parts of the company were sold. Mr. Walker argues that a major liquidation would rob shareholders of future value. Most of Amfac's Hawaiian acreage is covered in

cane and needs careful husbanding to make it commercially valuable, he says. Even Kaaunapali, where improved beachfront lots have sold for more than \$2 million an acre, is largely virgin land after 25 years of development by Amfac.

Mr. Walker predicts "substantially higher earnings two or three years from now" from Amfac's 18 business units as the economy improves and operating changes take root. A recent review by the Value Line Investment Survey agrees that "Amfac is positioned to achieve a stable boost in profits by 1985-87."

The job of harvesting assets falls to Mr. Du Bain, a gracious, deliberative executive whom associates describe as astute and resilient. Mr. Du Bain achieved seven consecutive years of record profits at San Francisco-based Fireman's Fund, the largest profit center at American Express. At Amfac, he has a five-year management contract at an annual salary of \$450,000, plus generous stock options.

Mr. Du Bain will be Amfac's first chief executive based in San Francisco, and in an interview there, he spoke cautiously about his plans. He seemed anxious not to contradict Mr. Walker or circumvent his directors, to whom he will present his program on April 20. The strategy he outlined strongly resembles his predecessor's.

Mr. Du Bain proposes to expand operations only when they earn at least 8 percent on total capital. He wants to achieve a 12 percent average return on capital, and an 18 percent return on shareholder equity. During the past five years, return on equity, including the asset sales, has averaged 12.2 percent.

The problem children, such as Liberty House department stores in Northern California and a nationwide nursery business, will be divested within three years if they do not reach their profit targets. "But it's not my plan to wait three years once it's clear a business won't make it," he warns.

The big exception is sugar, of which Amfac is the largest producer in high-cost Hawaii. The goal is simply not to lose any more money, according to Mr. Walker, who will oversee the sugar and land group from the islands. Plantations other than the one above Kaaunapali, which functions as a theme park, will be closed if necessary. Amfac said last year that it would close one plantation and cut production at two others.

## The New York Stock Exchange

### MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED APRIL 8, 1983

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chg
AT&T	3,955,500	43 1/2	+ 1/2
IBM	3,818,700	57 1/2	+ 1/2
IBM	3,750,300	103 1/2	+ 1/2
Prime C	3,656,200	32	- 10
ATT	3,573,800	64 1/2	+ 1/2
Exxon	3,563,700	31 1/2	+ 1/2
Es Kod	3,333,900	79 1/2	- 1/2
Bald U	3,284,700	12 1/2	+ 1/2
Rals Pur	3,134,800	21 1/2	+ 1/2
Goodyr	2,774,100	28 1/2	+ 1/2
Southe	2,682,100	35 1/2	+ 1/2
St Oil Cj	2,655,700	38 1/2	+ 1/2
Mobil	2,542,800	29 1/2	+ 1/2
Phil Pet	2,456,200	34 1/2	+ 1/2
Schlmb	2,329,400	42 1/2	+ 1/2

### MARKET DIARY

Advances	Declines	Total Issues	New Highs	New Lows
899	874	1,053	218	20

### VOLUME (P.M. New York Close)

Total Sales	Last Week	Prev. Week
357,144,360	5,732,329,939	5,321,243,773

### WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES

High	Low	Last	Change
101.9	99.6	101.2	-0.35

### New York Stock Exchange

Index	Last	Week	Prev. Week
Indust	101.9	99.6	101.2

### Standard & Poor's

400 Indust	173.5	187.4	171.3	-0.33
20 Transp	28.9	28.0	28.7	+0.06

### Dow Jones

30 Indust	1137.5	1102.1	1124.7	-5.32
20 Transp	513.5	495.6	509.3	+1.98

### The American Stock Exchange

### MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED APRIL 8, 1983

Company	Sales	Last	Net Chg
Cyprus	3,173,300	2 1/2	+ 1/2
Wang B	1,578,100	33 1/2	+ 1/2
PdLew	855,800	9	- 1 1/2
DomeP	884,000	3 1/16	+ 1/16
InstSy	639,700	3 1/2	+ 1/2
Narde	452,800	2 1/2	+ 1/2
IntEn	418,600	1 1/2	+ 1/2
HouOTr	375,400	13 1/2	+ 1/2
KayPh	355,900	29	- 1 1/2
DetPd	342,000	21 1/2	- 1 1/2

### MARKET DIARY

Advances	Declines	Total Issues	New Highs	New Lows
336	377	905	90	108

### VOLUME (P.M. New York Close)

Total Sales	Last Week	Prev. Week
33,680,035	560,390,890	296,046,315

# BROADWAY 80

Please place in litter-basket when you finish. Keep Israel tidy.

I'm glad I changed.



# The New York Times

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## Who Declares Secret Wars?

Why won't the Reagan Administration debate, openly and seriously, the legality of an American-sponsored secret war in Nicaragua?

The American activity deserves serious discussion; indeed, fair-minded citizens might come to endorse it. But instead of making the case, the Administration points to leftist horrors in Managua and pleads for trust. That asks much of Americans who remember where such trust led before.

President Reagan isn't exactly denying American involvement in a jungle war, the target being Nicaragua's Sandinist regime. His officials simply decline comment on the extensive press accounts of American help to Honduras-based insurgents. The fears that feed this evasiveness are scarcely imaginary. A proliferation of "Cuba-model states" in the Caribbean and Central America could be a threat to America in its own backyard.

But the Administration has yet to mobilize diplomacy to counter the threat. It has only split hairs, contending it is only trying to harass, not topple, the Nicaraguan junta.

Why this tricky distinction? Because just four months ago, Congress expressly forbade the use of "military equipment, military training or advice, or other support for military activities . . . for the purpose of overthrowing the Government of Nicaragua or provoking a military exchange between Nicaragua and Honduras."

This is unmistakably plain language. It builds on more general legal prohibitions, including the Neutrality Act and the charter of the Organization of American States, which provides that "no state or

group of states has the right to intervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other state."

Treaties, it is true, are not handcuffs, and it may well be, as the Administration argues, that Nicaragua has provoked reprisal by its own interventions in Central America. Unconventional methods can be justified if fundamental national interests are at risk. But secret wars are too risky to be left solely to executive discretion.

Faith in executive omniscience was lost in the Bay of Pigs and Gulf of Tonkin, and deservedly. The first bills on war powers were introduced after President Nixon's 1970 invasion of Cambodia; Republican Senators Jacob Javits and Bob Dole were co-sponsors. A War Powers Resolution carried overwhelmingly in 1973, as Americans for the first time learned the extent of the secret raids in Cambodia and Laos.

Under the resolution, no President can lawfully engage American forces for more than 90 days without authorization by Congress. Whether the use of "advisers" in Honduras to train émigré adventurers violates the War Powers Resolution is at least an open question.

It is not want of patriotism that feeds doubts in Congress. Nor is it lack of information that prompts the dissent by Senator Moynihan, who sits on the intelligence committee.

Americans have been down this road before, with calamitous results. If President Reagan has forgotten, Congress had better remind him. Put simply, in Mr. Moynihan's words, "The law is the law."

## Poorer, Hungrier

In April 1978, a team of touring physicians who in 1967 had found widespread hunger in the nation's backwoods and urban slums announced that Federal feeding programs had eliminated most of the gross malnutrition in America. What would they find today on a similar tour of the country, four years later?

Item: Last month, the mayor of Cleveland asked that food in Government warehouses be turned over to the city's 105,700 unemployed. Farmers in Grand Forks, N.D., promised to send 55,000 pounds of macaroni to the city. Churches and charities have opened more than two dozen new soup kitchens.

Item: Testifying before a Senate committee, Missouri's Senator John Danforth said the other day that one-third of St. Louis's elderly needed supplemental nutritional assistance.

Item: Larry Brown, a Harvard health specialist, told the same panel of the findings of doctors at Boston City Hospital. They studied 400 children under age 5 for evidence of poor nutrition; three times the number expected were at the bottom of their growth charts.

Item: Last year some 3.2 million children and 2,700 schools left the nation's school lunch program. Most of the schools can't afford to participate under new Reagan Administration rules. More than a third of the children are from poor families and have depended on school lunches for as much as half their daily nutrition.

Item: In Seattle, over 14 months, the waiting list has tripled for the WIC (women-infants-children)

program that provides baby formula, diet supplements and checkups for poor pregnant and nursing women and children. Nationwide, 9 million needy women and children are eligible for the program, but the Reagan Administration budget provides enough money for only a quarter of them.

Item: In parts of Detroit, 33 out of 100 children don't live till their first birthday; in the Avalon Park section of Chicago, the rate is 55 out of 100. Nationally, about two-thirds of infant deaths are associated with low birth weight, strongly suggesting a relationship to parental poverty.

Item: This week the Census Bureau reported that in 1981 the number of poor Americans was 31.8 million, an increase of 2.2 million in a year and the highest figure since 1965.

Meanwhile, the Reagan Administration plans to hold funds for WIC at \$1.1 billion, with no corrective for inflation, which means that another hundred thousand women and children will have to be cut from the program.

The Administration wants to trim another billion, almost 10 percent, out of food stamps. And it would like to chop spending for the school breakfast, summer food and child-care food programs by more than 25 percent.

Presidents Johnson, Nixon, Ford and Carter could take rightful pride in the findings of the team of physicians studying hunger in 1979. Given what's happening to the hungry in America, this Administration has cause only for shame.

## Which Doctors Are Dangerous?

In "The Verdict," Paul Newman plays a lawyer who wins a case that reveals how a hospital staff participated in covering up a doctor's malpractice. At one point the jurors ask the judge if the law allows them to award the victim's relatives more than requested.

The scene suggests why two New York medical groups are taking the wrong approach to a dispute over policing the medical profession.

Dr. David Axelrod, the State Health Commissioner, is concerned that doctors and hospitals bring so few cases of medical misconduct to the state's attention. The 670 complaints received last year included only 51 from hospitals and physicians. Yet Dr. Axelrod estimates that perhaps 10 percent of physicians suffer from problems that impair their functioning at some point in their careers.

Recent cases give reason for alarm. They include a doctor who promised impossible cancer cures, another who performed surgery while drunk and an anesthesiologist who showed up dazed in the operating room and couldn't keep his hands off hospital drug supplies. State officials are also concerned that doctors forced to resign from a hospital because of such problems may easily gain staff privileges at another.

The state Medical Society and Hospital Association say Dr. Axelrod overstates the problem. More misconduct reports emanate from patients, they say, because patients outnumber doctors and hospitals. And if 10 percent of doctors might have problems at some point in their careers, the number so impaired at any one time remains small. Dr. Axelrod's comments, they say, needlessly undermine confidence in the medical profession.

With little hard evidence, it's difficult to know the truth, but there is reason to sympathize with Dr. Axelrod.

Medical societies were created to defend the status of the profession and have always seemed hesitant to discipline misconduct. Also, they are deeply involved with malpractice insurance. When the business grew too chancy for general companies in the 1970's, the New York Medical Society sponsored and remains closely involved with a new company that now insures 80 percent of the state's physicians.

This year the medical groups are promoting legislation to limit malpractice damages, make it harder to sue, and expand the role of the medical societies in responding to reports of physician's misconduct.

Average malpractice settlements are going up, driving up medical costs for everyone. By continuing to respond defensively, the medical societies may be doing their cause more harm than good. Until the public feels confident about the profession's willingness to police itself better, there is little hope of persuading juries to moderate huge damage awards.

Doctors, nurses and hospital staff are best situated to recognize and report their colleagues' misconduct. Patients may never know if they have been mistreated. If the Medical Society really wants to build confidence, it could go on the offensive: give full publicity to important investigations and disciplinary proceedings; break the traditional collegial code of silence, and make clear to its members that a stern approach to dangerous doctors is not in their worst interest, but their best.

## Letters

### Defense Satellites: Key to Nuclear Disarmament

To the Editor:

In their views expressed on your Op-Ed page of March 30, Richard Garwin and Russell Baker seemed to me to have missed a key point of President Reagan's proposal for a new nuclear missile defense system, and that is that for the first time a defensive system could be used as an instrument for a new approach to nuclear arms reductions.

In fact, such negotiations could, and I believe President Reagan stated clearly should, occur before the defensive system is deployed.

Mr. Garwin attacks the proposal purely in terms of its hardware feasibility. With his assumption of no accompanying political agreement, it is easy for him to argue that all defensive hardware can be readily negated by counteroffensive hardware.

Mr. Baker also assumes that President Reagan had in mind that the new defensive system would be deployed by us before attempts were made to negotiate reductions in offensive missiles, and the result would be an accelerating rate of arms buildup.

It is indeed easy to postulate such negative scenarios, and through the centuries the world would have made little progress if creative thinkers had heeded such counsel. Since both of these gentlemen have assumed a political side to this proposal which biased it

toward a pessimistic conclusion, I feel it is only fair to consider a political framework in which the outcome might be entirely different.

Suppose we undertake to develop and prove the feasibility of a missile defense system which can destroy offensive missiles in the boost phase. Mr. Garwin indicates that this technology is achievable. When the feasibility has been verified, we announce to the world our intention to negotiate a treaty with the Soviet Union along the following lines:

• We offer to give them our design or produce hardware they can purchase from us.

• Both sides will follow a coordinated production, testing and deployment schedule, to be verified by a neutral observing team.

• The defensive satellites will have the capability to neutralize or destroy any station-keeping mines / placed within a threatening radius. The treaty will deem such actions to be purely defensive since the satellites will have no offensive capability.

• A binding term of the treaty will be a schedule for the rapid elimination on both sides of all strategic nuclear weapons after deployment of the defensive system.

It would even seem plausible that negotiations toward such a treaty might move in parallel with the technical

development work, with both sides agreeing to share technical breakthroughs toward the common goal.

Such a cooperative effort would surely enlist worldwide support. Are Mr. Garwin and Mr. Baker really so sure that it is futile to look for a combined political and technical solution to the current threat to mankind's survival?

WILLIAM B. ROHN  
Red Bank, N.J., April 1, 1983

### Within the ABM Treaty

To the Editor:

A March 25 news story states that the distinction between "research" and "development" is a "contentious issue" as those terms relate to the prohibition on space-based ABM systems in Article V of the ABM Treaty. This distinction was extensively discussed by the Defense Department and by officials of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee in 1972 (when the Senate was considering the treaty).

I believe that a review of that testimony and the texts of the ABM Treaty and supporting documents supports the following conclusions:

• As stated by Ambassador Gerard Smith, then director of A.C.D.A., and others, "development" as used in Article V (and elsewhere in the treaty) refers to field testing of a prototype, or "breadboard" model, of an ABM component. Research programs prior to field testing would not be prohibited.

U.S. ability to verify independently Soviet compliance with the prohibition on development was an important consideration in making this distinction. Ambassador Smith and others stated that this was also the Soviet interpretation of "development."

• The ABM Treaty does not prohibit development, testing and deployment of ABM systems and components using new technologies (e.g., high-energy lasers), but it does state that the U.S. and U.S.S.R. would discuss specific limits on such systems, if created, and that such systems and components would be permitted only if they were fixed and land-based. (This provision is in Agreed Statement F.) In other words, space-based ABM systems are prohibited regardless of the technologies they employ.

• The ABM Treaty does not prohibit development, testing and deployment of space-based weapons (lasers or other) for non-ABM purposes. The U.S. (and the Soviets) could develop and test large space-based lasers, for example, as anti-satellite (ASAT) weapons, so long as those weapons were not tested against "strategic ballistic missiles or their elements in flight trajectory." There are no current limits on ASAT weapons, although the subject of such limits is before the U.N. Committee on Disarmament.

• Nothing in President Reagan's proposal for a "comprehensive and intensive effort to define a long-term research and development program" for ABM systems is necessarily inconsistent with the ABM Treaty. It is only at the stage of field testing of such systems that the issue of consistency with the treaty would arise.

ALAN M. JONES JR.  
Arlington, Va., March 25, 1983

### If Children Must Pay for Care of Parents

To the Editor:

Your March 30 news article "U.S. Would Ask Children to Pay for Parent Care" describes a new and dangerous interpretation of the Federal Medicaid law.

By permitting states to require adult children to pay for the costs of their parents' nursing-home care ("filial responsibility"), Federal officials are placing an undue financial burden on the children, straining the parent/child relationship and limiting access to nursing-home care.

Filial responsibility for nursing-home costs would create an economic hardship for most adult children. Children in their 60's, approaching retirement age and having to deal with their own health expenses, cannot be expected to subsidize their parents' nursing-home care. Neither should younger adult children, with families of their own to support, be expected to sacrifice their children's educational opportunities because they have a parent in a nursing home.

Filial responsibility would also destroy close and loving relationships between elderly parents and their adult children.

Currently, elderly parents enter nursing homes with the satisfaction that they or the government are paying for the cost of care; that Medicaid will take over once their resources have been depleted and that they are not causing their family financial hardship. Filial responsibility would make the elderly parent fiscally dependent, ashamed about being a financial burden and more reluctant to interact with his or her family.

Perhaps the most disturbing aspect of the new Medicaid law interpretation is that, while it will not produce

any significant funds to support the Medicaid program (administrative and enforcement costs will minimize any benefits that might otherwise accrue) it will serve to deter the frail elderly from seeking nursing-home care. Many elderly parents, seeking to maintain their dignity and inde-



Bob Gale

pendence, would deny their need for round-the-clock medical attention rather than become a financial burden on their families. Filial responsibility thus becomes another gate created by the Government to limit access to needed health care. One hopes that legislators across the country, concerned about the health-care needs of the frail elderly, will block the implementation of "filial responsibility" in their states.

JEFFREY AMBERS  
New York, April 4, 1983

The writer is executive director of Friends and Relatives of Institutionalized Aged, Inc.

### Grievance Procedure, U.S. College Style

To the Editor:

Prof. Clifford R. Barnett, chairman of Stanford University's Department of Anthropology, argues that Steven Mosher, who was denied a Ph.D. candidacy and who took his case to the public, should have pursued his grievance within the appeal procedures of the university [letter April 1].

Professor Barnett's position seems reasonable, until we consider the intra-institutional system of adjudication.

Though I cannot speak specifically of Stanford, I have observed in American colleges that the system is often of questionable value to the appellant: because it is without guarantee of proper legal process, is subject to the institutional political pressures that are almost inevitable in American colleges and universities, is subordinated to institutional policies or exigencies and is under the nearly absolute authority of the president or board of trustees.

When Professor Barnett writes that "university officials, up to the president, will be in the line of appeal," as though that were equivalent to a direct communication with the Holy Spirit, he reveals the very academic credulity and subservience that may make the procedure worse than useless — because it defers and may preclude relief for the appellant as plaintiff in a civil action.

A university president may be well pleased with an appeal procedure that terminates on his desk. I am not sure that the appellant will always be.

Publicizing a case is one way of breaking out of the containment by an academic institution, which is one of the last autocracies in the Western world. Mr. Mosher seems to doubt the purity of degree-awarding and grievance procedures in the academic community, where politics may be as intense as in the Chicago city government.

If Professor Barnett has attained a university chairmanship still believing in that purity, he is to be admired for a beatific innocence.

JOHN ILLO

Shippensburg, Pa., April 2, 1983  
The writer is professor of English at Shippensburg State College.

### Adolescent Victims of Their Elders' Failure

To the Editor:

Your March 30 editorial about Melissa, who, in the 14th year of her life and the ninth month of her pregnancy, chose death under the wheels of an Amtrak train, is heart-rending. And it is especially anguishing when we place Melissa in the context of an ever-escalating incidence of teen-age pregnancy and venereal disease.

After 10 years of a social policy of making birth-control information available to these young people, the problem is getting worse, not better.

Yet, surprisingly, you call for even easier access to birth-prevention services as a solution, as if our Melissas were mature adults who coldly decided to have an affair and then carefully sought professional advice to avoid the natural consequence of casual mating.

You misunderstand the dynamics. To advise children that birth-control services are available does not mean that they will use them. Indeed, the children may well decide and intend not to be sexually active.

But they will understand what is implicit in such advice — that the adult world is accepting of the concept of recreational sexual intercourse. And it is that implicit adult acceptance of the concept which may well tilt the scales when the Melissas are in a pressure situation. If it isn't wrong, just risky, are we surprised that the young take risks?

The past 10 years have proved that preaching pregnancy prevention to our children drives teen-age pregnancy up, not down. That fact may not be known to your editorial board, but it is certainly known to most parents.

And it is parents, not Times editors, who have the right and obligation to guide their children during the perilous years of adolescence.

One would conclude that you do not accept that principle, since you take such obvious delight in condemning the "squalid rule." Have you adopted the policy of using a cheap slogan as a substitute for thoughtful analysis? That analysis should run as follows:

• Sexual relations are ill-suited to adolescents, and this is true irrespective of whether the adolescents use or fail to use birth control.

• It is the parents' right and duty to counsel their youngsters in responsible use of their sexual faculties.

• Parents have a right to know if their adolescents are seeking birth-control information, just as they have the right to know if their children are seeking access to any other potentially harmful practice or substance.

For you to argue that giving children unrestricted access to birth-control services will be the cure for teen-age pregnancy is naïve.

One further fact: In discussing this issue, you appear to focus on young girls. What of young boys? Is it your position that, if they can get all our young girls immunized against pregnancy, we can rest easy on the principle that boys will be boys?

I suspect that Melissa, a baby herself, was at least in part a victim of the adult world's failure to recognize the needs of our young people for social policies which promote wholesome nurturing instead of quick-fix nostrums such as reflected in your editorial.

JOHN P. HALE  
New York, March 31, 1983

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## Repay U.S. Japanese?

By John J. McCloy

relocation on grounds of military necessity. The Supreme Court later supported the relocation's main features.

In 1942, only the Army was capable of the difficult logistical task. It was most reluctant to carry it out. But only the Army had procedures to insure that the job was done humanely and efficiently. The Army wanted to end the burden of relocation at the earliest opportunity. In 1943, the hairsbreadth defeat of the Japanese at Midway might have provided such an opportunity. Thereafter, the possibility of an attack on the Coast decreased. Still, we were in a two-front

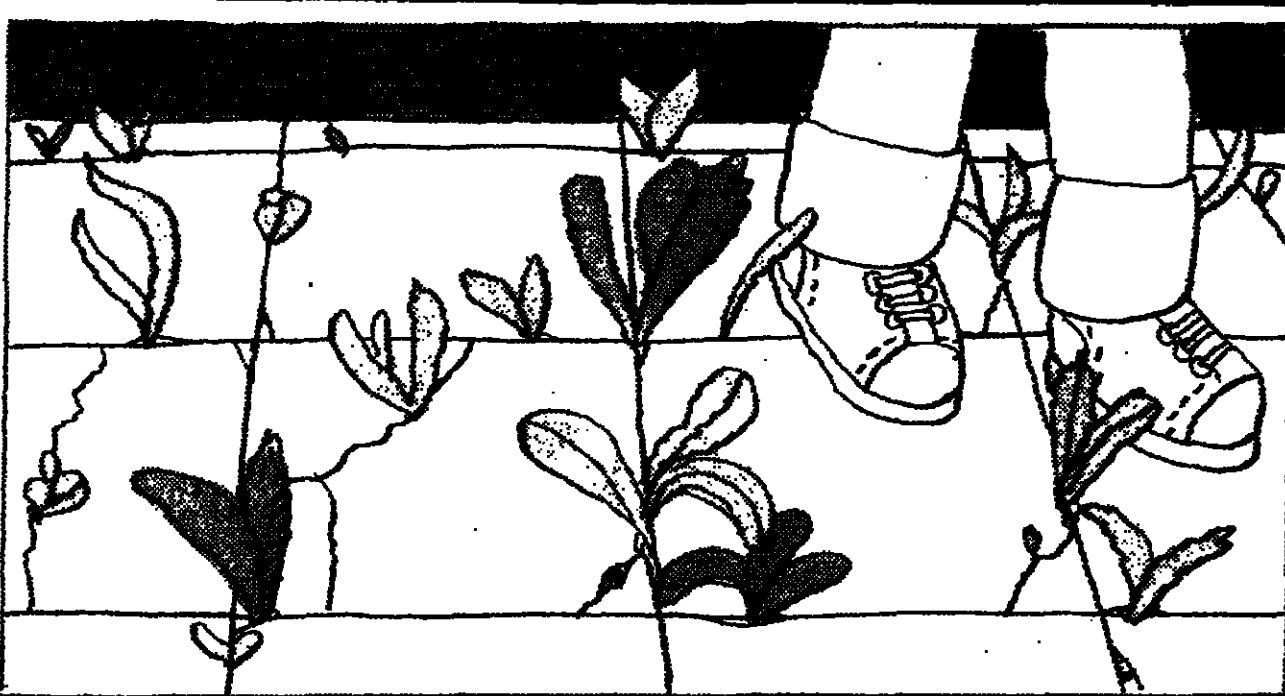
war and Japan retained a surface force advantage over us in the Pacific. It was not practical to reverse the earlier move, and our military leaders remained concerned about Coast security.

An insufferable element in the commission's effort to condemn our officials is the imputation of "racial prejudice" and "war hysteria" to the deceased statesmen for their support of relocation. The Coast had a record of anti-Japanese prejudice (the rubric was "The Yellow Peril"), but to associate ignorant prejudice with Mr. Stimson and other senior officials is an affront to

their memory and a total misconception of the facts and of their characters.

Is it reasonable to ask the present Japanese generation to provide monetary compensation for the victims of Pearl Harbor and the train of victims that followed, including the evacuees? Is it fair, even rational, to saddle today's generation of Americans with such costs? It is fantastic 38 years after the war to attempt to equalize the sacrifices of all its victims.

I raise these questions without even citing the many steps our wartime Government took to eliminate anti-Japanese prejudice and to ease the evacuees' plight. What have we come to when Americans are asked to shoulder the blame, to finance and conduct inquiries into their "guilt" and pay for the consequences of an indisputable act of aggression by Japan?



Douglas Florian

## It's Called Rushville, But Times Are Slow

By Paul W. Barada

RUSHVILLE, Ind. — The symptoms were difficult to see at first — a vacant storefront here and there, a few weeds growing between jagged cracks in the sidewalk. Midwestern farm towns have always suffered from some decay and neglect, but usually just around the edges. Today, more and more rural communities suffer not only the effects of unemployment but also the impact of declining farm prices. The two have brought hard times to Main Street.

Take Rushville, about midway between Indianapolis and Cincinnati in one of the most productive farming regions in the world. In years gone by, Rushvilles have weathered economic ups and downs, thanks largely to good times on the farm. Listen to Dick Eckel, president of the Rushville National Bank: "Rushville doesn't have much industry. Every day, about 1,200 people leave the county to work in Indianapolis and surrounding communities. When there were layoffs at Chrysler or Ford in Indianapolis, it didn't hurt us very much because farming has traditionally been so strong. But with depressed farm prices and high unemployment, things have gotten pretty tough."

Last year, on Main Street, there were no Christmas decorations for the first time since the blackout days of World War II. A small item, but indicative of hard times. "The old decorations were just worn out," says Bill Trimble, publisher of The Rushville Republican. "And no one really wanted to accept the responsibility for raising the money to buy new ones."

But hard times on Main Street go a lot further than just the absence of Christmas lights. In Rushville, a town of less than 7,000, more than a dozen stores have closed in the last 16 months. One of the most dreaded events in any farming community has

come: farm bankruptcies. Farms aren't being auctioned from the courthouse steps as in the Great Depression, but it could happen. As Mr. Eckel says, "When it costs more to grow the crop than what you will receive when you sell it, it doesn't take long to get into trouble."

There are other, more subtle, changes taking place. "It's tough facing your friends and neighbors when you know they're having financial problems," a bankrupt businessman says. "Part of it is small-town pride. But in a city at least as many people would know about your problems. Here, you see the same people in the bank, at church and at basketball games; it's tough holding up your head sometimes."

Robberies and burglaries, once rare, are increasing. "I think some people are just getting desperate," commented Ron Cameron, the police chief.

"There's a sense of helplessness — the feeling that people have lost control of their lives. I think that's something new in small towns." And people are gradually leaving. Al Hodge, a high school teacher, says: "We're losing most of our young people. Farms don't need the manpower they once did. High interest rates discourage borrowing money to start a business, and local industry isn't

doing much hiring. It's really a shame because we basically have good kids here." The result is that the ambitious kids, the ones needed most by Rushvilles, leave, while the ones on the other end of the scale stay around but contribute little.

Midwestern towns were once insulated by geography and the economy. That's no longer true in a world made small by transportation and international trade. To a significant extent, survivability now depends upon factors beyond Main Street's control. It is difficult to say what the future holds in store for the small farming community. One thing is certain, however. Farm prices must improve, not only for the farmer but also for the merchant. Fresh local leadership is needed, along with a turnaround in the national economy. Then, perhaps, Christmas decorations may come back to Main Street.

## ABROAD AT HOME

### Road To Disaster

By Anthony Lewis

plans and providing them with intelligence.

All this is being done under National Security Decision Directive 17, approved by President Reagan in November 1981. The policy objectives were further expounded in a National Security Planning Group Paper of last April, which The Times published. This amazing document reads as a primer in official folly.

The document said that one U.S. purpose should be to "isolate" Mexico on issues of Central American policy — although Mexico is by far the most important country in the region and the one whose interests we always say are of special concern to us. It urged strong efforts to "avoid Congressional mandated negotiations" in El Salvador, "which would work against our interests."

In Guatemala, the document said, the recent coup by Gen. Efraín Ríos Montt offered good "new possibilities" — although that coup worked against the democracy the United States has said it is trying to promote in the region. The paper also called for resumption of U.S. military sales to Guatemala on credit, which had been cut off because of human rights violations, although General Ríos Montt in fact soon began a murderous campaign against Guatemalan villagers.

Reports in The New York Times have now shown how deeply the Reagan Administration is involved in the anti-Sandinist guerrilla operations. The C.I.A. and the American military are engaged in arming and advising the Honduran-based forces, making

The covert war against Nicaragua is the most extreme example of a self-defeating policy in the lot. Consider what it can reasonably be expected to accomplish, putting aside for the moment all considerations of law and morals.

The guerrillas coming from Honduras are associated with the hated regime of the late dictator, Anastasio Somoza. They are likely to add to the legitimacy of the Sandinist Government, not hurt it — to increase sympathy for the Sandinists in Nicaragua and the region. And the attacks will strengthen the hand of those inside the Government who want to increase repression, instead of allowing the pluralism we want.

But there are reasons of law, too. The effort to avoid the Congressional restriction on covert action, to pretend that these guerrilla operations are designed only to punish the Sandinists, not overthrow them, has already aroused qualms in Congress and inside the executive branch.

And there is a deeper question of American character. We have become more cynical about ourselves; it seems a century ago that a United States delegate to the United Nations was embarrassed at being caught out by an official lie. But this country is still not comfortable — and not effective — at the business of secret wars. That has not changed since the Bay of Pigs.

Over the last week I have been at the University of Oregon, where Wayne Morse was dean of the law school before he was a senator. I have been reminded of how he spoke out against the Vietnam War at the beginning, warning against its dangers of law and policy. Senator Morse was irritating, but he was right — and we paid dearly for not listening. What politician now will take on the difficult but necessary duty? That is to speak out, uncompromisingly, against the counterproductive policy of ever deeper intervention in Central America.

## WASHINGTON

### An Appeal for Unity

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, April 9 — The news has been dominated in recent days by angry people: vicious racial charges in the election for Mayor in Chicago; demonstrations against the President of the United States in Pittsburgh; hostile and even personal slurs between Moscow and Washington — ironically in the name of "peace."

It's not new, of course, but in the middle of another alarming round in the nuclear arms race, a developing trade war and over 33 million unemployed in the industrial nations alone — not to mention the hungry people in the rest of the world — it's a dangerous situation the political leaders of the free world will have to face seriously when they meet next month in Williamsburg, Va.

What is happening now, or so it seems in this corner, is that everybody is blaming somebody else for problems they have in common and don't know how to debate, let alone relieve. The politicians are battering us and each other with propaganda that this ideology or the other — conservative, Socialist, Communist, supply-side or welfare state — will be the answer to our anxieties.

Whereas, the one clear fact is that computers, industrial robots, multinational corporations, international communications and new centers of financial power are transforming the world so fast that none of the political ideologies have been able to keep up with this torrent of new machines and ideas.

President Mitterrand in France can kick out the Russians suspected of spying on his industrial and military secrets, but his socialist philosophy has not been able to provide enough jobs or defend the franc.

Likewise, Reagan in Washington and Thatcher in Westminster and Kohl in Bonn have been forced to bend their ideologies to the whirlwind of industrial strife and unemployment.

And the Soviet leaders, the original economic determinists, who wanted to be judged by the welfare of their people, have proved on this score to be the most spectacular failures of all — and have failed all the more because they have been slower to adjust their ideology to the scientific and economic realities of the modern world than any other major nation.

What is troubling about the present political leaders of the world, including their opponents, is that none of them are speaking out with any eloquence about the coming age, but are concentrating mainly on the present day or the next election.

President Reagan is a good example. He is a decent and amiable man, crying for a world that is gone. It's not quite fair to mock him, as the demonstrators did in Pittsburgh with their "Dump Reagan" signs.

He has done service to the country by challenging the welfare state assumptions of the Democrats, but this has to be put in the past tense, where he lives.

He says very little, if anything practical, about the computerized world of the future, or how to rescue the old smokestack workers in Pittsburgh, Youngstown or Detroit, or educate the rising generation for the new skills they and the nation will need between now and the end of the century.

Nor do we hear much about this challenge from the Democratic candidates who are seeking his job. They touch on it now and then, but mainly they concentrate on his failures, as if he were to blame for everything.

This, of course, is the old "kick the rascals out" game, but under present circumstances, it's surprising, for the future may belong to the people with the notion of bringing the country together.

Unless I miss my guess, the American people are sick of all this contention between the parties, the regions, the races, the unions and the managers and would listen to any candidate who concentrated on unity and peace, the education of our children and the defense of our civilization with something more than "smart bombs" and laser beams in outer space.

For the main question is not whether he will run but whether he will think about the future. The issue before the country and the alliance is much wider and deeper than anything that has been discussed in the politics of this country or the allied nations so far, and it is new only to a degree.

Walter Lippmann defined it almost 60 years ago in a prophetic book called "Drift and Mastery":

"We are unsettled," he wrote, "to the very roots of our being. There isn't a human relation, whether of parent to child, husband and wife, worker and employer, that doesn't move in a strange situation."

"We are not used to a complicated civilization; we don't know how to behave when personal conduct and eternal authority have disappeared. There are no precedents to guide us, no wisdom that wasn't made for a simpler age. We have changed our environment more quickly than we know how to change ourselves."

## U.S. Peace and Labor activists defend Polish Solidarity leaders on trial

We are artists, intellectuals, trade-unionists and political people active in the progressive movement in the United States. Some of us spend much of our time working within the peace movement. It is our profound conviction that intellectual and artistic freedom, the freedom to organize democratic movements without official interference, and to communicate openly, are essential if humanity is ever to progress to a just and peaceful world.

It is with much disquiet that we hear of plans in Poland to put on trial former members of the Workers Defence Council (KOR), as well as several leaders of the trade union, Solidarity. These persons

have already served 14 months in prison camps and prisons without charges being brought against them. They stand for the same principles of social justice, peace, freedom and human and workers' rights, as we do. They should be immediately released.

The sentencing of these individuals would be seized on by the most reactionary elements in our own society to justify their own retrogressive social and Cold War policies. We oppose any persecution of these individuals, our fellow human beings, and ask for their release as well as the release of all others who have been imprisoned in Poland for their union activities.

Stanley Aronowitz	Tom DeLuca	Lee Grant	Maggie Kuhn	Sam Meyers	William Smith
Edward Asner	David Dyson	Mina Hamilton	Betty G. Lail	David Moberg	Pam Solo
Patricia Aufderheide	Barbara Ehrenreich	Michael Harrington	Jeanne Landy	Kim Moody	Gloria Steinem
Jack Berkowitz	Daniel Ellsberg	Dorothy Ray Healey	Margaret Lloyd	Erika Munk	I.F. Stone
State Sen. Julian Bond	Deirdre English	Richard Healey	Jonathan Lorch	Holly Near	Hal Strelnick
Peter J. Camarata	Alexander Erlich	Grace Hane Hedemann	Staughton Lynd	Martin Oppenheimer	Ida Torres
Noam Chomsky	Richard Falk	Adam Hochschild	Manning Marable	Milton Ost	James Weinstein
Rev. John Collins	Carol Bernstein-Ferry	John Hudson	Anthony Mazzocchi	Marcus Raskin	Stan Weir
Cong. John Conyers	W.H. Ferry	Julius & Phyllis Jacobson	David McReynolds	Marvin Resnikoff	Cornel West
David Cortright	Moe Foner	Janet & Michael Jendryczek	Robert Meeropol	Paul Robeson, Jr.	Ellen Willis
Barlene Caccinelle	Carlos Fuentes		Seymour Melman	Cleveland Robinson	William A. Wimpisinger
Gail Bunker	Rev. John Githner			Alvin Sargent	Max & Sylvia Wohl
Robert W. DeGrasse Jr.	Allen Ginsberg			Janet Shenk	Anne R. Zell
	Victor Gollancz			Philip Sipser	

### CAMPAIGN FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY EAST AND WEST

PLEASE FILL OUT AND RETURN THIS COUPON

EDWARD ASNER, Chair  
Polish Defence Task Force  
Campaign for Peace and Democracy, East and West  
301 W. 105th Street  
New York, N.Y. 10025

Please add my name to the list of signers urging freedom for Solidarity and KOR leaders. I am also enclosing a donation to help further support for their freedom. (For your donation to be tax-deductible, make check payable to "CALC Foundation, for CPD/EW".)

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Campaign for Peace and Democracy, East and West

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# Max von Sydow, Without a Country

By ROBERT GOLDBERG

LOS ANGELES In the soft gray light of Malibu's Getty Museum, the Swedish actor Max von Sydow bends intently over delicate ink and chalk drawings, Holbein's portraits from the court of Henry VIII. "These are good faces," he says, slowly looking around at the drawings. "They're very accurate, and they're all great characters. Look how amused he is. That lower lip. And what was she thinking? I believe she must have been trying to impress Holbein. See? You recognize them all." His own face opens momentarily into a warm, almost shy grin.

Here at the Getty, as the museum crowd shuffles past, talking in muted whispers, Mr. von Sydow makes a striking figure — tall and gaunt, with a remarkable quality of stillness. But then, he is striking anywhere, a figure whose pale coloring, lanky 6-foot 3-inch frame, and ice blue eyes riveted attention in Ingmar Bergman's films (he was the father in "The Virgin Spring," the knight in "The Seventh Seal" and more recently in American movies (the title role in "The Exorcist"; in "Three Days of the Condor," the assassin).

For Mr. von Sydow, the museum visit is a welcome respite in a hectic filming schedule. Between now and autumn, he will be appearing in four movies: "Never Say Never Again," the Sean Connery James Bond film (opening in July); "Strange Brew," a comedy with SCTV's McKenzie Brothers (opening in October); "Le Cercle de Passion," a French film derived from Italian opera; and most important, the Swedish director Jan Troell's latest, "The Flight of the Eagle."

"The Flight of the Eagle," nominated for the Academy Award as Best Foreign Film, is the story of a doomed Swedish scientific expedition to the North Pole. Set in 1896-97, it follows the team of three men, led by S. A. Andrée, in their attempt to conquer the Arctic by balloon. The chilling drama has an added pathos because it's true — Andrée and his men were actual Swedish explorers who all perished in the frigid wastes of the North. Their diaries and film were discovered 33 years later, and those real photographs are interspersed with the narrative, like some ghostly testament.

In S. A. Andrée, Max von Sydow has finally been given a role with psychological depth, probably the most complete and complex film character he has portrayed in the past decade. The bearded, lean Andrée — frozen eyes and haggard, etched face — is a driven man, charismatic enough to win financial support from his King, and adulation from his country, obsessed enough to drag himself and his two followers to their deaths even when it becomes clear that their mission will fail.

"Andrée was a man of strong will," Mr. von Sydow points out, thoughtfully fingering his glasses. "If he decided to do something, he was strong enough to make it come true, to arouse a tremendous enthusiasm in the nation. He didn't realize that he was caught up in something he wouldn't be able to handle until he set out the first time, in 1896. He was absolutely convinced that the balloon would hold and his system of navigation would work."

"But," he goes on, "during that first summer, when the wind never came, it turned out that the balloon was leaking. Andrée, however, couldn't admit this. He simply delayed the mission for a year. During that year, he began

Robert Goldberg is a New York-based freelance writer with a special interest in the arts.



to have his doubts, and a month or so before he was scheduled to leave his mother died.

"Now she was his motor — it was all for her. He had never managed to cut his ties to his mother. He wanted to be her good boy, to show off. So psychologically, it was a great crisis for him. But by that point, he had to do it. He had to sacrifice himself, and the other guys too."

The hard, introspective Andrée is a character Mr. von Sydow grew to understand over the several years he lived with the part. Jan Troell had come to him with the idea in the mid-1970's, after they teamed up on "The Emigrants" and "The New Land." At first, Mr. von Sydow turned the director down, but then he began reading about Andrée and became fascinated by him: "I wanted to make it into a television mini-series, because it's such a long story, so full of exciting material, so I even started to write a screenplay for it." Although that version failed, another version, written by others, succeeded, and Mr. von Sydow's absorption in Andrée paid off: "It was especially interesting for me because I got such a long time for preparation. I had been active, working on the material, thinking about the character, for three or four years."

This period of preparation is something that Mr. von Sydow values highly: "I enjoy stage acting more than film acting. Films are a lot of fun, but what I find most exciting is the time for rehearsal in the theater, which you don't normally get in film. That is a great adventure — to explore the character for several months."

Max von Sydow has been acting — on stage and on film — for some 35 years. Born in April 1929, in the university town of Lund, Sweden, he was

the child of a professor of folklore who envisioned a professional or academic career for his son: "My parents had other things in mind for me. They didn't plan for me to become an actor. But when I was 14 or 15, the neighboring city of Malmö got a magnificent municipal theater, and when my high school took us there to see Shakespeare's 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' my interest was ignited. It was my first encounter with legitimate theater."

"I never studied at any college — which I regret today. I was in such a hurry to get away, I wanted to be an actor already." He went off to Stockholm, to the Royal Academy of Dramatic Arts (the school of the Royal Dramatic Theater), and before he graduated, he had appeared in two films directed by Alf Sjöberg. Most of his work in the early 1950's, though, was in repertory theater, and it was while Mr. von Sydow was acting on a small municipal stage not too far from his home town that Ingmar Bergman stumbled upon him in 1955.

So began an artistic collaboration that lasted more than 15 years, yielding 11 movies and countless stage productions. They mounted Faust, "The Misanthrope," and "Cat on a Hot Tin Roof" together, and their first film was Ingmar Bergman's "The Seventh Seal." Recalls Mr. von Sydow, "The Seventh Seal" was an experiment, made on a low budget — a ridiculous budget — of \$40,000. Of course we had no idea then that it would become an international classic, but we knew already that it was an important film, a courageous project." This allegorical tale of a medieval knight, who plays chess with Death, introduced Mr. von Sydow to international audiences in

1957 as a tower of self-possessed strength.

Leading roles in "The Magician" (1958) and "The Virgin Spring" (1960) soon followed; roles he remembers fondly: "The Magician" I enjoyed very much — partly because the character I played, the magician, is silent. He doesn't say anything. Really, the movie is about the artist's situation in society, how people project their own ideas on the celebrity or artist, and demand him to be what's in their imagination. It's a film about Bergman himself, how every one expects him to be."

The most important thing he learned from Bergman, Mr. von Sydow believes, is "dramatic

attention of starting an international career," Mr. von Sydow remembers. "I told them, 'I am content in Sweden.'" Over the next few years, he consistently turned down U.S. offers, including the title role in the first James Bond movie, "Dr. No."

But the director George Stevens finally persuaded Mr. von Sydow to come to the United States, and in 1965

"I think I have achieved, through the years, a certain simplicity and economy of expression."

rhythm." For example, he says, "In 'The Virgin Spring,' the sequence where the father has learned of his daughter's murder — the rage slowly builds up in him until he finally explodes and kills — it's a build-up which is long and slow and meticulous. Bergman uses a lot of time and thought to build up an emotion. He milks it. You think the explosion will come, but no, and the tension exhausts you."

"The suspense is on another level in 'The Seventh Seal.' It's there from the

Goran Stangertz and Max von Sydow, at right, in "The Flight of the Eagle"

beginning, as soon as Death is introduced. Say you're playing a scene on stage: The moment an actor opens a drawer and picks up a gun and puts it on the table, the content of the conversation, even if it's exactly the same conversation, changes. You don't have to point the gun or shoot it. So the moment Bergman introduces Death, the movie is charged."

Through Bergman films, Mr. von Sydow emerged as a prominent actor, and at the Cannes Film Festival in 1959, he was approached to act in American movies. "I said I had no in-

the actor appeared in his first American film. It was "The Greatest Story Ever Told," and he played Christ. Since then, hardly a year has gone by without Mr. von Sydow working on or appearing in at least one Hollywood release: "Hawaii," "The Exorcist," "Three Days of the Condor," "Voyage of the Damned," "Flash Gordon," "Victory," among others. For an actor who has worked in French, Italian, Spanish, English and Swedish movies, Mr. von Sydow still likes returning to Hollywood, because of the high technical quality of United States films: "Most of the time, it's a pleasure to work in a good American production. The people in Hollywood are such wonderful technicians, such skillful directors."

But today Mr. von Sydow has some regrets about his international film career. First, there is the constant travel. The actor, who has an apartment in Rome and a summer house on an island in the Baltic Sea, and whose two sons attended Harvard and Brown, feels "I have nowhere really to call home. I feel I have lost my Swedish roots. It's funny because I've been working in so many places that now I feel at home in many locations. But Sweden is the only place I feel less and less at home."

Another regret, and equally important, is the roles Mr. von Sydow has been given in American movies. For

an actor who has been acclaimed as one of the world's finest, he has appeared in some truly mediocre movies here. And his roles have often been limited to two-dimensional villains or fanatics, which rankles the intelligent Mr. von Sydow. This stereotyped casting is partly the result of the stern, self-contained image for which Mr. von Sydow became famous, and partly, he believes, based on his foreign accent: "I wish I could have a wider choice of roles in American productions, the kind of roles I get in Europe (where they dub the sound track). I wish I could do parts that aren't centered on the very fact that this is a foreigner. Particularly since America is a 'melting pot,' a country full of accents. It wouldn't be strange if I played something other than a hired gunman from abroad, or a German scientist — these are clichés of foreigners."

"But in this country, producers are, of course, cowards, and they only offer you exact copies of roles you successfully performed before. It's very difficult to break that mold, to shatter that image. So if I want to work here, my choice of parts is limited. That's the way it is. You have to work. I'm not in a position to pick and choose whatever I want. You have to take what's there. Sometimes it's not so interesting. Sometimes it's a total disappointment. That's just the way it is."

"But if I had my choice, I know that I could do ordinary people much more than I've been allowed to — workers, farmers, fathers. People without any remarkable talents. Just a regular person with regular, everyday problems. A family situation or a work situation. These are the characters I've played in Swedish and European films."

His current films, "Never Say Never Again" and "Strange Brew" (in both of which, predictably, he plays the villain), hardly alter the pattern, nor does the movie he is currently filming, "Dreamscape," about a scientist who has found a way to penetrate into dreams, and a villain out to get that power (in which he plays the scientist). Nor, for that matter, does Dino De Laurentiis's film of the science fiction classic "Dune," which he is scheduled to work in this spring (he's once again a scientist).

## Zubin Mehta Set to Appear In a Film About Zoroaster

By JOHN ROCKWELL

As music director of the New York and Israel Philharmonics, Zubin Mehta is a central figure in Western music. Yet like more and more such stars of our musical firmament, he comes from a non-Western culture — one need only consider Seiji Ozawa, Yo-Yo Ma, the Tokyo Quartet, the Chung family and many, many more.

For all his adaptability to the West, Mr. Mehta retains his Indian citizenship and a conscious, thoughtful relationship with his native land. He lived in Bombay until he went to Vienna to study at the age of 18, and he led the Los Angeles Philharmonic to his native city in 1967. He was supposed to take the Israel Philharmonic to India in 1978, as well, but the whole tour was abruptly canceled — a decision that still irks Mr. Mehta. In addition, he has on several occasions collaborated with the sitarist Ravi Shankar.

Now, however, the conductor has involved himself in two projects that will further attest to his Indian kinship. One, still to be formally announced in all its particulars, will be a New York Philharmonic tour of the Far East in the summer of 1984. Exact dates and itinerary have yet to be worked out, but Mr. Mehta confirmed that one stop will be his home town of Bombay.

A more unusual venture is his participation in a feature-length documentary on the life of Zoroaster and his



Jack Mitchell

"My part is only to ask a thousand questions."

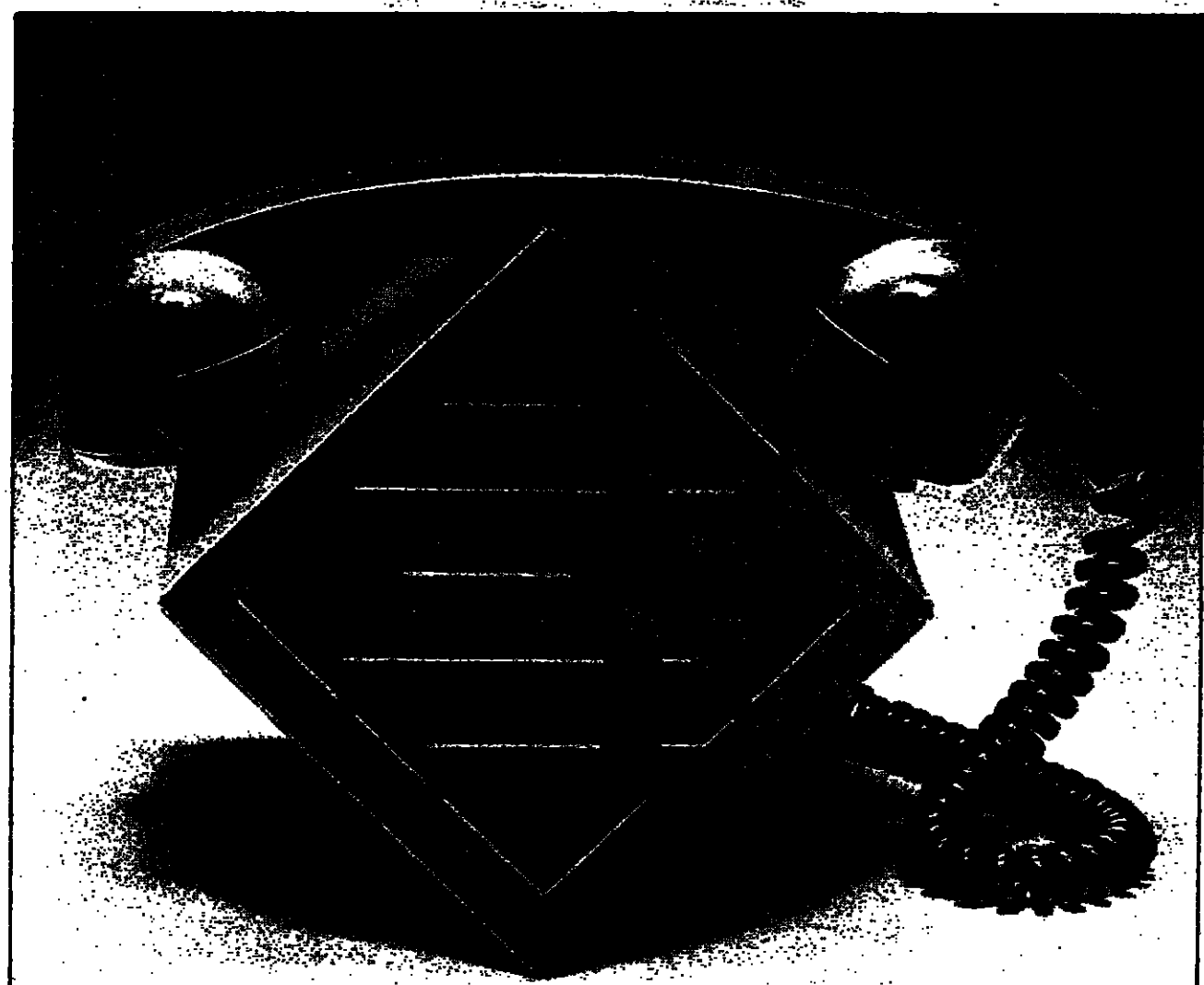
religion. Zoroaster, also known as Zarathustra, founded the religion named for him in Persia in the sixth century B.C. It is still practiced by some 25,000 people in Iran and, more important, by the 90,000-strong Parsi community of India, which is located mostly in the Bombay area and to which Mr. Mehta belongs.

Mr. Mehta says the film, which will

be called "A Quest for Zarathustra," "is sort of based on my quest for knowledge of my own religion." The conductor spent several days in January shooting his sequences, which consist of him engaging a Parsi priest in a dialogue on the origins of Zoroastrianism — generally considered to have been the world's first monotheistic faith and hence an important influence on Judaism and Christianity. "My part is only to ask a thousand questions," Mr. Mehta said.

The director of "A Quest for Zarathustra" is Cyrus Nowrozi, a Parsi who lives in Washington. The film will incorporate dramatic realizations of key incidents in Zoroaster's life and religion, but Mr. Mehta has nothing to do with those. Mr. Nowrozi is using English actors for these scenes, Mr. Mehta says, in order to invest them with a "classical English accent" removed from the various accents that Indian speakers might apply. The director is trying to get Terrence Stamp to play Zoroaster, and hopes to begin shooting the dramatic sequences at the end of this month.

Mr. Mehta reports that the Parsi community, which is backing the film, hopes to distribute it to television, and that interest has already been expressed by the BBC. The idea is to recoup costs, not to make a profit, he added. "Parsis don't convert, so this is not a way of getting into the world religious market," he said. "It's merely an attempt to tell people what the first monotheistic religion was about."



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LIFE CREATES ART and art sustains life. That was the case with Charlotte Salomon, a young German Jewish woman coming of age in the 1930s, with a family history of suicides and a whole world crumbling around her. Under pressure, she consented to leave the father and step-mother she loved in Berlin, to join her grandparents in the south of France, then considered "safe."

There she discovered that her biological mother, who died when Charlotte was four, had committed suicide. And there her grandmother killed herself.

Charlotte, fighting her own desire to die, painted more than 700 pictures, many of them with text sketched in, to tell her story, in a series she called *Life or Theatre?* The process of creating the story apparently restored her to life, or restored to her the desire to live. Then she was killed in Auschwitz.

Much of what she tells revolves around a man she calls Amadeus Daberlohn, a divinely mad voice teacher who survived for several days in a trench during World War I, as his friends died around him. It was then, he said, that he began to understand what a tremendous range of sounds the human voice can make. Daberlohn worked with Charlotte's beautiful and much-admired step-mother, an opera singer, and fell in love with her; Charlotte was in love with him.

It was he who encouraged Charlotte to paint and told her that to embrace life you must experience death.

Charlotte put her paintings in a suitcase and entrusted them to a friend — "This is my life," she said

# The life of Charlotte

By MARSHA POMERANTZ/Jerusalem Post Reporter

— before the Nazis took her away. The paintings are now at the Jewish Museum in Amsterdam, and reproductions of them were compiled into a book about two years ago.

At the same time, Charlotte's art and life entered another realm of existence. They were made into a film, and that film has now come to Israel. *Charlotte*, a joint German-Dutch production, written by Judith Herzberg and Frans Weisz, and directed by Weisz, will be shown at Beth Hatefutsoth for the next two months, beginning this week.

THOUGH ITS first part seems to scramble to fill in the background, the film is very moving as it portrays the relationships among the central characters intermingled with Charlotte's pictures of them. It also gives us a palpable impression of the "small" indignities on the way to greater horrors.

Little girls line up for a class picture, but the Jewish girls have to leave before the camera snaps its shot. Charlotte's father, a doctor, finishes giving his last lecture in

anatomy — and in humanity — as soldiers come in from the hall to pull him away.

Shattered glass on cobblestone is photographed from the perspective of someone lying in the street. And inside the houses we witness the clink of china and the dinner pitter of the Jews who refused to see what they were looking at.

After a preview of the film last week in Tel Aviv, there was a reception in the home of the Dutch cultural attaché, Frans Potui, sitting off at the side was a handsome woman with white hair and green eyes and a dress to match her eyes. She was Paula Salomon-Lindberg, Charlotte's step-mother, now 85.

After the introductions, I asked her what she thought of the film. She pointed to her left ear, indicating she couldn't hear. "Concentration camp," she said. I moved to the other ear and repeated the question. "Awful," she said. "Just awful, isn't it?"

She seemed to be commenting less on the quality of the film than on the limits of art. The characters it creates are not the characters she

knew. She didn't recognize Derek Jacobi's Daberlohn or Elisabeth Trissenaar as herself or Max Croiset as her husband, or Birgit Doll as Charlotte, though she does think that the characterization of Charlotte is perhaps closest to reality.

Still, the limits: "Charlotte was... distant, she was... pure, very closed." The day of the preview was Charlotte's birthday. At the time of her death, she was 26.

MRS. SALOMON, who was wearing a tiny blue-and-yellow ribbon pinned to her dress, explained that it was an award of distinction from the House of Orange for her work as a voice teacher.

She talked a little of what happened where the film leaves off — she and her husband managed to get to Amsterdam; Daberlohn, whose real name was Wolfson, got to England. Her opera career ended "when Hitler came." She was permitted to do only Mahler or Mendelssohn, or sing in synagogues. She was in two concentration camps.

After the war she did oratoria in Amsterdam, but mainly she taught, because her husband had decided to return to his studies. He became a professor at the age of 65. Albert Schweitzer was her best friend; they knew Klaus and Thomas Mann very well.

Here in Tel Aviv, against the background of music and cocktails, through her English which kept lapsing into German, I got only a glimmer of the world she lost and the strength she and her husband must have had to survive.

She is very glad the film was made: "It's another generation,

now, and everyone sees things through his own eyes. Young people know nothing about what happened."

This film "speaks to young people," she feels, and wherever it is shown, the book is also popular.

Judith Herzberg, across the room, said Mrs. Salomon had cooperated closely on the film from the beginning. They met once a week for about a year. She also saw the script before it was filmed. But Herzberg understands her reservations.

"I think if my own family were being filmed, I would object to everything. So she took it very well."

OTHER PEOPLE were interviewed as well, but the basis for most of the film was Charlotte's book, including the text in the pictures.

Herzberg, who is a poet and playwright, did write some of the scenes from scratch — the one with the school photographs, for instance, and Charlotte's father taking leave of his students. "Most history is official," she explained. "It's difficult to get the feeling of how it creeps into daily life."

She said she and Weisz didn't want a producer at first; they wanted their freedom. The project was made possible by a grant from the Dutch Ministry of Culture. It was done well in commercial



Birgit Doll and Derek Jacobi in a scene from 'Charlotte.'

houses in Holland, and is now playing in the U.S. The original language is English, but the version in Israel is dubbed into German and has English subtitles.

She's not happy with the distribution here: "We did it for the opposite of Beit Hatefutsoth. We want it to be commercial." The day we talked, there were no buyers yet.

Mrs. Salomon, meanwhile, who is here for a few days only, and against her doctor's better judgment, had something else on her mind. The voice theories of the beloved Daberlohn/Wolfson are being applied by Mark Rittenberg in a drama workshop in Jerusalem. She was planning to drop in and do a little work there.

# HOLOCAUST HEROES

By MELANIE ROSENBERG/Special to The Jerusalem Post



Sandra Brand... "Some feel they have the right to stone me."

of the world," she says. "Each time I come here, I am more convinced of it and more anxious to make this my permanent home."

Her most recent visit to Israel involved two particular highlights — a television appearance on Ron Evron's show, and the release of the Hebrew version of *I Dared to Live*.

There was also the ceremony in a

Tel Aviv cemetery to erect a monument to those Jews of her hometown of Niemirow who perished in the Holocaust. "For the first time, there is a grave for what has been only ashes. Earth was brought in from Auschwitz and buried here. The names are in a little compartment..." her voice trails off.

"I feel strongly that the

Holocaust must be told from all angles," says Brand. "In my case, I have something to say that must be said. There are those who wouldn't have wanted to disclose a love affair like I had. Some feel they have the right to stone me. But it must be told."

"To me, this German was a saint, and I have an obligation to him. The Belzer Rebbe, too, helped so many people and almost miraculously gave peace of mind to poverty-stricken Jews. It's a paradox — my obligation to praise both the rebbe and the German."

"My story, the murders of my child and my family, is a human tragedy and in itself a microcosm of millions of tragedies of the time."

"It gives me comfort to know that through my books I've reached people who otherwise couldn't relate to the overwhelming facts of the Holocaust. Individuals are easier to understand than millions. Children of survivors have also thanked me for helping them to begin to understand for the first time."

"What disturbed me was a 16-year-old boy who demanded to know why we didn't believe Hitler's threats from the start; why let it happen. I had no simple answer for him."

"The only answer that sustains me today is that the Israeli leaders from '48 until now do what we couldn't do. They take seriously the threats of Arafat, Gaddafi and every enemy of the Jews. Defence is foremost in their minds."

"Fifty years from now no 16-year-old will have to come and ask why no one prevented the annihilation of the Jewish people."

WHAT MARKS Sandra Brand's individual relationship to the Holocaust experience? "Guilt, revenge and heroism," she replies.

"I fought with the guilt of my own survival while so many others died. I've written about the revenge I tried to take: the random murders of nine Germans to avenge the nine dead members of my family."

"As for guilt, all survivors have it. Life was given to me only to save others. As for revenge, there is no revenge. Jewish ethics forbid it."

And heroism? "All those who died were the true heroes."

they feel that he might be able to change President Reagan's hard-line, anti-Polish position.

THE POLISH people are not too aware of the political considerations of their government, but they are well aware of the forthcoming commemorations. A large-scale information campaign has laid the groundwork for public participation.

Despite the fact that not all Poles are convinced that there is good reason for the commemoration of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, there is no doubt that the city of Warsaw will go all out to make guests welcome and to help in making the entire occasion a success.

The authorities are expecting delegates from the Soviet Union, France, Britain, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia, in addition to those from the United States and from Israel.

Also invited are representatives of the World Congress of Poles, the World Federation of Jewish Fighters, the Partisans and the Association of Concentration Camp Survivors. In addition, some 170 Polish citizens who saved the lives of Polish Jews during the Nazi occupation of Poland will be honoured by representatives of Yad Vashem, who will award them medals as "Righteous of the World" in a ceremony during the celebrations.

Translated for The Jerusalem Post by Dvora Ben Shaul. By arrangement with Davar.

# Remembering in Warsaw

By DANKA HARNISH

U.S. to fill this position, left Poland and at this time the office is not filled.

In addition, a third building is under construction which will house the offices of the Jewish Confederation and a kosher restaurant, which will supply free meals for the needy and subsidized meals to those who can pay.

Although preparations have been made for the arrival of thousands to attend commemorative ceremonies and the re-opening of the Great Synagogue in all its splendour, and rooms in both hotels and private homes have been set aside, no one is sure just how many people will be coming.

At the end of March, there were only some 2,000 guests whose attendance had been confirmed, 1,000 of them from Israel. The Polish Government, however, is hoping that many more will arrive, particularly from Western countries.

POLITICAL CIRCLES in Poland blame the American President Ronald Reagan for the lack of American participation in this commemorative occasion. The

Americans, they feel, are reluctant to encourage a large number of American citizens to participate in the ceremonies for fear that it might be interpreted as support for the Polish government of General Jaruzelski.

Activities aimed at minimizing participation in commemorating the 40th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising come as a serious blow to the Polish Government, which has accorded great importance not only to the commemoration itself, but also to the composition of the participants.

The matter is, to the Poles, of such great importance that they have virtually ignored objections from Damascus and Tripoli, even though the Polish regime has close relations with the Arab states.

What seems most important at this time is a large American participation, particularly from the World Jewish Congress. Edgar Bronfman, president of the organization, is expected to attend, and the Poles see Bronfman's participation as an opportunity to initiate discussions with him, since

## REPARATIONS IN WARSAW

the commemoration of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, which took place just 40 years ago, were completed in the second half of March. A commemorative exhibition opened yesterday and will end on April 18. The commemoration, which was extremely expensive, was entirely funded by the Polish government. The largest single expenditure on behalf of Polish Jewry is represented by the reconstruction of Warsaw's Great Synagogue, the *zika*, which cost some \$3 million. This is not an insignificant sum for Poland, nor does it represent the total costs of this year's commemoration since other large sums are being spent on ceremonies.

The Polish Jewish Community of some 12,000-15,000 souls is not participating in the funding of this year's commemoration. According to Shimon Peres, a member of the Social and National Association of Polish Jews, director of the Warsaw Jewish Centre, the funds of the Jewish community are earmarked for other purposes, particularly for assistance to the needy.

The Great Synagogue, which was utterly destroyed in World War II, has been reconstructed by Polish artists, some of whom have international reputations, and will be opened on April 18. The synagogue has been reconstructed according to the original synagogue plans which were saved from the destruction, and an additional building — a library for a chief rabbi — has been built.

The last chief rabbi, sent from the

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## Current budget is IS2.6 billion Railways has loss of \$1.2m. despite freight service gain

By DAVID RUDGE  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA — Israel Railways suffered an overall loss of about \$1.2 million on its operations during the past financial year. Income from freight services showed a slight increase, but this was not enough to offset losses made on the passenger side, managing director Zvi Tsafiri told reporters yesterday.

He said large-scale investment was needed to develop the passenger service by building a second coastal line between Tel Aviv, Haifa and Nahariya, and to buy 50 modern coaches equipped with air-conditioning. The project, costing about \$25m., would enable the expansion of the passenger side and encourage more people to travel by train.

Tsafiri said the number of passengers carried during 1982-83 dropped to 2.9 million compared to 3.1 million during the previous financial year.

The freight service, however, continued to expand, and was up from 5.3 million tons in 1981-82 to

5.4 million tons in 1982-83. The transportation of potash and containers showed the biggest increases.

He said that Israel Railways was unable to fulfil contracts to carry a further 7.5 million tons of freight during the year due to a shortage of engines and wagons. A further five new locomotives and 100 wagons, costing a total of about \$60m., are needed to bring the freight service up to full capacity.

Tsafiri said productivity had risen by 41 per cent, by international standards, over the past five years. This was mainly due to a reduction in manpower from 2,000 to 1,870 and the continuing expansion of the freight service during that period.

He said Israel Railways' budget for the current year is IS2.6 billion. Most of this will be swallowed by inflation, price rises, wages and maintenance, leaving only IS600m. for development.

Tsafiri called on the government to allow Israel Railways to take out private loans, thereby enabling it to expand and develop its services.

**APARTMENTS.** — The Mish'hab construction firm has opened an office in New York in conjunction with the Israeli Council of Young Israel. It will provide information on housing in Israel to American Orthodox Jews.

**BOOK.** — The American Library Association has placed *Ways of the Illustrator* by Josef Schwartz of Haifa University's School of Education on its list of outstanding academic books for 1982.



The importers of Seat, Avraham Dar (right) and Arnon Ilin, with two of the new Ronda models.

## Spain's Seat car company to sell its Ronda models here

By YITZHAK OKED  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Spanish automobile company Seat is coming to Israel and sales of its Ronda cars will begin at the end of this month. Seat was originally a joint enterprise with Italy's Fiat, but the company is now independent and there is a dispute between the two manufacturers concerning the Seat cars. The case is being heard at the Court of International Chamber of Commerce in Paris.

According to Fiat, the Seat company has not made enough changes in its cars and the Ronda it plans to market in Israel is according to the local Fiat people similar to their Ritmo Super. Alex Goren, board chairman of the Mediterranean Car Agency, which sells Fiat here, told *The Jerusalem Post* that some potential customers may be misled about the identity of the two makes. He added that his agency considers

starting court proceedings against Seat in Israel.

The two managing directors of the Seat agency in Israel, Avraham Dar and Arnon Ilin, held a press conference here yesterday. They said they were bringing in four models of the Ronda, with 1,197cc, 1,438cc, and 1,592cc engines. The 1,197cc engine cars would come in two versions, the GL and GLX, the other two only in the GLX versions.

Dar said that starting with the new model year in September, the firm would introduce a smaller, 903cc model, called the Fura.

Concerning the dispute between the two companies, he said customers had nothing to fear and would not be affected. Most of the back-up service for the new cars will come from existing service garages of Alpha Romeo. Arnon Ilin, who is a partner in the new company, is also associated with Kfirish, the importers of Alpha Romeo in Israel.

## Egypt ships oil from its new Ras Badran field

CAIRO (Reuters). — The first shipment of oil from Egypt's new Ras Badran field in the Suez Gulf was on its way to the world market yesterday, company spokesmen said.

The offshore field, which formally opened on Sunday, is now producing 15,000 barrels per day (BPD) and should deliver 50,000 BPD by the end of 1983, spokesmen for British petroleum, Shell, Wining and Deminex told Reuters.

The three companies, in a consortium called Succo, began drilling in 1977. Two wells are operating in Ras Badran at present, with nine more due to start later this year.

Ras Badran is one of the key fields which Egypt hopes will boost its production from 700,000 BPD now to one million BPD by 1985.

Egypt exports about a third of its production, earning nearly \$3 billion a year. But recent oil price falls are expected to top some \$500 million of this sum.

Last month Egypt cut its oil prices by up to \$3 a barrel, bringing the key Suez blend to \$27, which is \$2 below the new level set by OPEC.

## El Al head says staff cuts reduce payroll by 37 per cent

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — The substantial savings El Al is achieving as a result of improved efficiency since it reopened in January will probably not be enough to cover losses from suspended Sabbath flights. "A considerable part of our projected deficit is due to the Sabbath stoppage," general manager Raffy Harlev said yesterday.

Addressing the Skol Club at the Dan Carmel hotel, Harlev said that El Al would save 37 per cent of its payroll of well over \$100 million on the big staff reductions its workers had agreed to last January. He noted that in 1978 the staff had expanded to 6,126, with many doing little work as they were gradually upgraded to the top. The workforce was now down to 4,900, with another 1,000 due to go by the end of October. The reduced staff was doing the same amount of work as the former larger workforce, an indication of how bloated the roster had been.

Harlev said that in July El Al would take delivery of the first of four new Boeing 767 two-engine planes, with a passenger capacity of

225 for its Europe lines. The second would arrive in September and the other two next March.

Since El Al had reopened in January it had almost regained its former number of passengers, Harlev said. He thought this was in large measure due to the introductory cheap flight offers, which have now come to an end. "They brought our passengers back to us without large advertising costs," he said. But he stressed that El Al would not try to compete with charter flights by cutting prices and would instead try to preserve its image as a stable scheduled carrier.

Harlev said that if El Al could again begin to pay its way, as he hoped it would, the long shutdown would turn out to have been worthwhile. "It may yet serve as a model for future labour relations here," he said. It can do this by showing workers that the way El Al had been driven into the ground by its employees with exaggerated wage demands and works committees meddling in management affairs was not the right way. He praised the Histadrut for its part in getting the workers to agree to a reasonable new start.

## British Airways launches £25 million image campaign

LONDON (Reuters). — State-owned British Airways yesterday

dubbed itself the world's favourite airline in a new worldwide advertising campaign costing £25 million (\$1.48 billion) in its first year.

The drive was launched with a six-minute television commercial which showed samples of new commercials, which chairman Sir John King said would be shown in 30

countries.

British Airways' new slogan "The world's favourite airline," is based on its claim that it carries more international passengers to more countries than any other carrier, a spokesman said.

The airline currently carries about 16 million people annually to about 70 countries. Several UK airlines fly twice that number, and the

Soviet state Aeroflot system takes more than 100 million, but the bulk are carried internally.

British Airways has trimmed staff from 59,000 to 35,000 in a cost-cutting drive to bring the airline back to profits and fit for sale to private investors. It is believed by industry commentators to have made around £60m. (\$36m.) net profit in the year up to last month.

## Swissair: Tel Aviv - Rome - Lagos: 30 hours and 25 minutes. Tel Aviv - Zurich - Lagos: 12 hours and 5 minutes.

Having a look at the Swissair timetable is worthwhile, because the connections via Switzerland are often the fastest and most comfortable ones. A second glance will show you that this is especially true for our connections from Tel Aviv. Your travel agent or Swissair will be glad to give you further information. Swissair Tel Aviv, Tel. (03) 24 33 50; Jerusalem, Tel. (02) 22 52 33; Haifa, Tel. (04) 8 46 55.

swissair

## Rosolio takes over at Hevrat Odvim

By MACABEE DEAN  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Hevrat Odvim will continue to do everything in its power to improve the country's economy — despite the policy of the government, which has caused a sharp drop in exports, a hike in imports, and the dwindling of the home market for local goods. This was stated as part of "my credo" by Danny Rosolio, who was yesterday elected Secretary-General of Hevrat Odvim, the Histadrut's holding company, which in various forms controls a considerable part of the country's economy.

Rosolio, who has been acting as secretary-general for the past five weeks, replaces Moshe Olenik, who returns to his former post as deputy chairman of the board of Bank Hapoalim.

"Despite the harsh economic conditions against which industry is struggling today, we will do everything to shield workers from dismissal. We will see to it that industry continues to show initiative and increase productivity," he said. "Our motto is: work is not a disgrace," he added.

Rosolio castigated the tendency towards speculation, which had taken root in the country, noting that "the stock market is a balloon which had to burst."

Rosolio is a member of Kibbutz Cabri, in Galilee, and a former member of the Knesset and of its Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee. He said the main thrust of his policy would be to see that investments were made in putting up or expanding factories in development areas.

## VW sales down nearly 10% worldwide

WOLFSBURG (Reuters). — Volkswagen, the West German auto manufacturer hit by slumping sales and facing heavy losses, said yesterday it would not be paying a dividend to its shareholders for 1982 — the third time in 10 years.

The company suffered a worldwide fall in sales of nearly 10 per cent last year and has one of its two U.S. car plants lying idle. It also made no payout in 1974 and 1975.

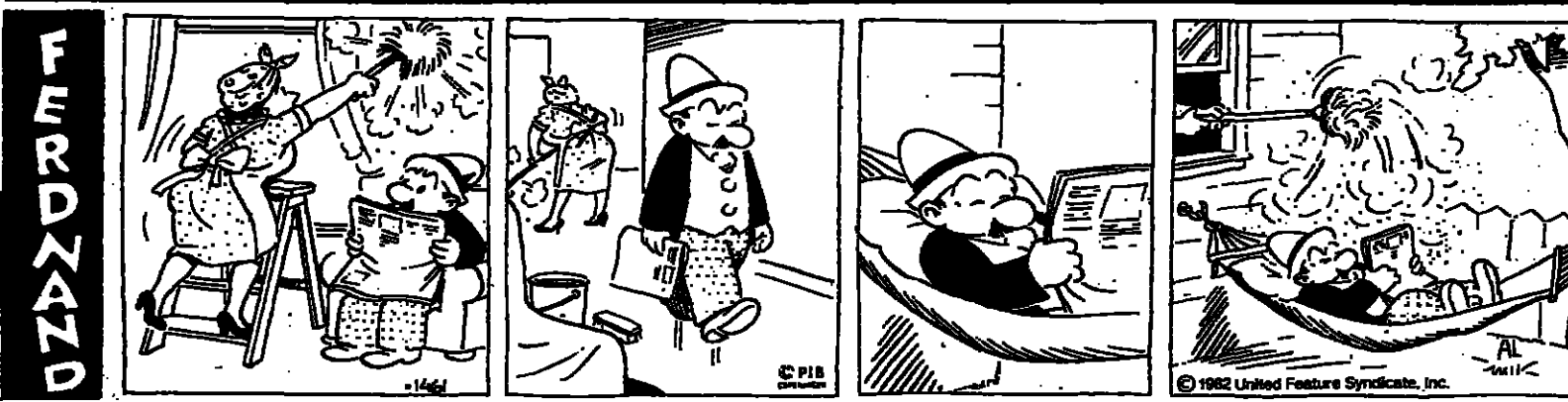
Chairman Carl Hahn has said that he expects to report world losses for

1982 well above the DM146 million (\$61m.) of the first nine months.

Full details would not be announced until a press conference later this month, company spokesmen said.

In 1981, shareholders received a DM5 (\$2) payout per share and Volkswagen reported a group profit of DM136m. (\$57 million).

Apart from about 590,000 small shareholders, the West German government and the state of Lower Saxony each own 20 per cent of Volkswagen.



## WHAT'S ON

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**Jerusalem Museums**  
Israel Museum. Exhibitions: Permanent Collection of Jewish Art and Archaeology; Bezalel 1906-1939; Art of Bezalel Teachers; Portables; Letterheads by Pentagram; Primitive Art from Museum collection; How to Look at a Painting; Special Exhibits: Seder Plate, Vienna 1935; Japanese Miniature Sculpture, 16th-19th cent.; Bezalel and Iuro; Pilgrim Souvenir Objects and Christian Lamps; Clay Jug and Juglet, Middle Canaanite Period (IIA); Kadesh Barnea, Fortress from Judean Kingdom (Rockefeller Museum); Wonderful World of Paper (Paley Center next to Rockefeller Museum); Illuminated Haggadah, 18th cent.; 50 Minutes to Job One — Designing the Ford Sierra; Seder Ma'ach Tuvijah; Raphael in Prints  
Visiting Hours: Main Museum 4-10, At 4.30. Guided tour in English, 7.15; Gallery Talk, "New Oil Lamp Section."

**CONDUCTED TOURS**  
HADASSAH — Guided tour of all installations • Hourly tours at Kiryat Hadassah and Hadassah Mt. Scopus • Information, reservations: 02-16333, 02-426227.

**Hebrew University**  
1. Tours in English at 9 and 11 a.m. from Administration Building, Givat Ram Campus. Buses 9 and 28.  
2. Mount Scopus tours 11 a.m. from the Bronfman Reception Center, Sherman Building. Buses 9 and 28 to last stop. Further details: Tel. 02-882819.

**American Mizrahi Women.** Free Morning Tours — 8 Alkalai Street, Jerusalem. Tel. 02-699222.

**Rehovot**  
The Weizmann Institute. Grounds open to public from 9.00 a.m. to 3.30 p.m. Visitors invited to see audio-visual programme on Institute's research activities, shown regularly at 11.00 a.m. and 3.15 p.m. Friday 11.00 a.m. only.  
Tours of the Weizmann House every half hour from 10.00 to 3.30 p.m., Sunday to Thursday. Nominal fee for admission to Weizmann House.  
No visits on Saturdays and holidays.

## GENERAL ASSISTANCE

### EMERGENCY PHARMACIES

Jerusalem: Mount Olives, 287480, Baitan, Salah Eddin, 272315; Shu'afat, Shu'afat Road, 810108; Dar Eldawa, Herod's Gate, 283058.  
Tel Aviv: Yehuda Hamaccabi, 42 Yehuda Hamaccabi, 455198; Kupat Holim Clalit, 7 Amsterdam, 221432.  
Netanya: Neot Shaked, Ezorim Industrial Center, 52484.  
Haifa: Aliya, 44 Aliya, 522062; Hamman, K. Moutzin, 715136.

### DUTY HOSPITALS

Jerusalem: Hadassah E.K. (pediatrics, E.N.T.), Bikur Holim (internal, obstetrics), Shikun Zedek (surgery, orthopedics, ophthalmology).  
Tel Aviv: Rokah (pediatrics), Ichilov (internal, surgery).  
Netanya: Laniado (obstetrics, internal, pediatrics, gastroenterology).  
Migdal Leizor: Open line 4-6 p.m. every Monday answers to obstetrics, gynecological, sterility, sexual functioning and family planning problems. Tel. 02-633356.

### MEDICAL HELP DURING STRIKE

Medical care is available for a \$500 fee, at alternative medical centres throughout the country. For further information, call the nearest regional centre:  
Dan Region 03-241252  
Tel Aviv 03-245458  
Netanya 065-23004  
Haifa 065-22106  
Safed 067-30665  
Tiberias 067-92993  
Nagev 051-72705  
Jerusalem 02-224083  
Rishon LeZion 03-948206  
Rehovot 054-57687  
Haifa 04-86855  
Nahariya 04-87660

### FIRST AID

Magen David Adom first aid centres are open from 8 p.m. to 7 a.m. Emergency home calls by doctors at fixed rates. Sick Fund members should enquire about rebate.  
Phone numbers: Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa — 101. Dan Region (Ramat Gan, Bnei Brak, Givatayim) — 781111.

Ashdod 2223  
Ashkelon 23333  
Bat Yam 5855556  
Beer Sheva 78333  
Eilat 72333  
Hadera 22333  
Holon 8031334  
Nahariya 923333  
Nazareth 54333  
Netanya 23333  
Petah Tikva 912333  
Rohovot 054-51333  
Rishon LeZion 942333  
Safed 30333  
Tiberias 20111

"Ezer" — Mental Health First Aid, Tel. Jerusalem 669911, Tel Aviv 253315, Haifa 538858, Beer Sheva 4111. Netanya 35316

Rape Crisis Centre (24 hours), for help call Tel Aviv, 354819, Jerusalem — 810110, and Haifa 88791.

### POLICE

Dial 100 in most parts of the country. In Tiberias dial 524444, Kiryat Shmona 4044.

### FLIGHTS

24-HOUR FLIGHT INFORMATION SERVICE  
Call 03-972434 (multi-line).  
ARRIVALS ONLY  
(TAPED MESSAGE)  
03-295555 (20 lines)

## TWO-IN-ONE CROSSWORD

### CRYPTIC PUZZLE

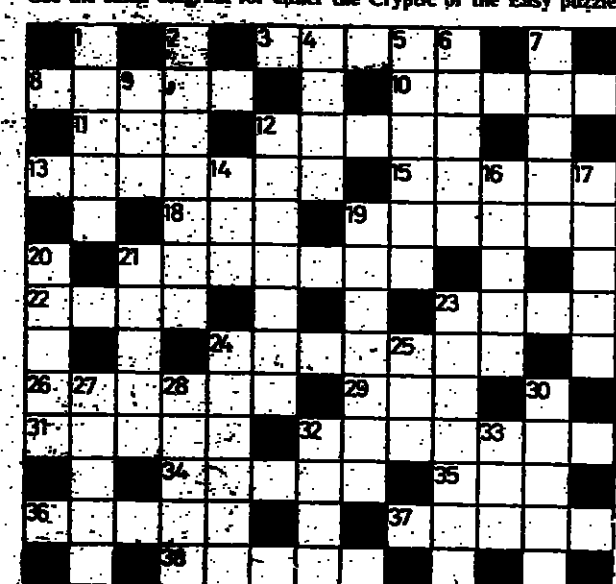
#### ACROSS

- 3 It's devilish deep (5)
- 8 Nice and sticky (5)
- 10 He steals quietly here and there (5)
- 11 Is such a game of 100 up? (3)
- 12 Car or driver (5)
- 13 In a way, love me in a show (7)
- 15 They grow in twos, we hear (5)
- 18 Knock over a spare part (3)
- 19 Musical trick? (6)
- 21 Not the place, for old wine (7)
- 22 Drinks concocted in the East (4)
- 23 Learn less than readily (4)
- 24 Won't a steady drinker ever do so? (7)
- 26 Quietly strengthens the positions (6)
- 29 Dance to a Chopin piece (3)
- 31 Figure an Irishman's out of town? (5)
- 32 Three knockabout film comedians (7)
- 34 Drinks taken by a Pole into mines (5)
- 35 Like a flying admiral? (3)
- 36 Name that song (5)
- 37 Rob in some haste, always (5)
- 38 What horses do when a hinge breaks? (5)

#### DOWN

- 1 Wine a Scotsgman has over? (5)
- 2 Units of juice (7)
- 4 A setback, e.g., a gale (4)
- 5 An arresting examination (4, 2)
- 6 Destroy herds, possibly (5)
- 7 A quiet, noble woman (5)
- 9 She's like pop or dad (3)
- 12 The little darlings that can show most pep? (7)

Use the same diagram for either the Cryptic or the Easy puzzle.



### EASY PUZZLE

#### ACROSS

- 3 Boats (5)
- 8 Radiates (5)
- 10 Android (5)
- 11 Exist (3)
- 12 Go in (5)
- 13 Vain (7)
- 15 Particles of matter (5)
- 18 Work in lace (3)
- 19 Help (6)
- 21 Sort (7)
- 22 Nimble (4)
- 23 Ale (4)
- 24 Colonised (7)
- 26 Sends payment (6)
- 29 Tune (3)
- 31 Carpenter's tool (5)
- 32 Fortiveness (7)
- 34 Triangular wall-section (5)
- 35 Garden bird (3)
- 36 Berate (5)
- 37 Reddish-brown (5)
- 38 River islands (5)

#### DOWN

- 1 Window substance (5)
- 2 Oppressively hot (7)
- 4 Smuggles (4)
- 5 Animal fat (6)
- 6 Kinds (5)
- 7 Chambers (5)
- 9 Mineral (3)
- 12 Landed properties (7)
- 14 Head of corn (3)
- 16 Lubricated (5)
- 17 Long-legged bird (5)
- 19 Stir (7)
- 20 Seize wrongfully (5)
- 21 Scent (5)
- 23 Scolds (7)
- 24 Firm (6)
- 25 Falsehood (3)
- 27 Vote into office (5)
- 28 Hearth (5)
- 30 Garret (5)
- 32 Cut (4)
- 33 Impudence (3)

### Solutions to today's puzzle

Yesterday's Cryptic solution  
ACROSS — 1. Steady, 5. Up-ton, 10. Ni-gel, 11. Rod, 12. G-  
-el, 13. Fireman, 15. M-ent, 18. Fit, 19. Carcase, 21. Ash-kill,  
22. Ours, 23. R-car, 24. Tiffes, 26. Grace's, 29. Top, 31. Hossa,  
32. Robert's, 34. Ay-rox, 35. Air, 36. Say-as, 37. S-top-L-38. Ed-  
-el.  
DOWN — 1. Sprig, 2. Moderns, 4. Lush, 5. A-simal, 6.  
Miner, 7. Teash, 9. Tor, 12. Gathers, 14. Mat, 16. Nudge, 17. So-  
-rory, 19. C-Hit-on, 20. Dough, 21. Arroz, 23. Repeats, 24. Tes-  
-ter, 25. Lob, 27. Roma, 28. C-E-ase, 30. Slop, 32. Slop, 33. No.  
Yesterday's Easy Solution  
ACROSS — 1. Spot, 5. Dyaks, 10. Spot, 11. Spot, 12. Spot,  
13. Spot, 14. Spot, 15. Spot, 16. Spot, 17. Spot, 18. Spot, 19. Spot,  
20. Spot, 21. Spot, 22. Spot, 23. Spot, 24. Spot, 25. Spot, 26. Spot,  
27. Spot, 28. Spot, 29. Spot, 30. Spot, 31. Spot, 32. Spot, 33. Spot,  
34. Spot, 35. Spot, 36. Spot, 37. Spot, 38. Spot.



## Bears take over falling market

**TEL AVIV.** — The bears definitely chased the bulls out of the market yesterday — at least temporarily — in a market which showed clear signs of falling. The turnover also fell, to IS1,069.4 million, compared to IS1,241m. on Sunday.

Although there were occasional rises in the various categories, especially in commercial banks, the general picture was one of selling. The General Share Index of the entire market fell by 0.42%, and if commercial banks are excluded, the market fell by 1.30%. However, although insurance companies were mixed, most tended to rise.

Buying pressure for IDB Development, the holding company of the Discount Group, started to lessen and a demand for 1,855,000 shares (nominal value) caused a rise of 10 points (only 0.4%), with a turnover of IS41.1m. Thus, the turnover in IDB Development, although it was far from the highest yesterday, was definitely in the same brackets as the commercial banks.

Mizrahi, which earlier this week switched from a six-point daily rise to five points, continued yesterday to rise five points.

Four stocks were listed as "buyers only," while 14 were sellers only. While 17 stocks rose by 5% or more, 104 fell by similar margins. Of the major stocks which rose or fell in the 10% category, Cold Storage 5 lost 12.2% to stand at 433 points, Clal Computers and Baranowitz lost 10%. Alliance gained 10%.

### Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

By MACABEE DEAN

Among options, Zikim lost 20.5%. The turnover in Mishkan (mortgages) was heavy, IS29.9m., but this share fell by 240 points, or 3.9%. Hassneh Insurance also had a fairly heavy turnover, IS20.7m., but lost 18 points, or one per cent. The turnover in Property and Building was IS20.2m., and it rose by 13 points, or 0.6%.

There was a definite shift into index-linked and other bonds. The turnover was IS223m., compared to only IS164m. the previous day. This demand, of course, brought about rising prices, ranging up to 3% in a few cases. There was also considerable demand for bonds traded or linked to foreign currency, and for double-option bonds, with the latter often rising by 0.5%.

Ararat Insurance announced distribution of 150% bonus shares. The company's profits after tax rose by 167% to IS59.6m., in 1982. Its assets and reserves rose by 242% to stand at IS142.9m. Premium income in its life insurance portfolio rose by 175% to IS184m. and income from elementary insurance rose by 126% to IS541.4m. (None of these figures is deflated to take the 131 per cent hike in the Cost-of-Living Index into account.)

Teva announced it was floating a new emission of 2,300,000 units, each unit consisting of two IS1

shares and one option. The company will also offer 18,920,500 options, with one option being granted to every ten IS1 shares now being held. Teva workers will be offered 1,500,000 options.

Supersol announced it was raising its registered capital to IS500m. by issuing 90,000,000 shares of IS2 each, and 13,000,000 shares of IS10 each. The company also plans to grant 100 bonus shares to existing shareholders.

General Bonded and Cold Storage announced it had received approval to shorten its name to General Bonded.

Moshulam Levinstein Contracting and Engineering is issuing 100% bonus shares.

Adanin Mortgage is paying an 8% cash dividend on its ordinary shares. The share will go ex on April 21, and the actual payment will be made on May 12.

M.L. Software and Computers announced it has purchased 35.5% of the shares of Carmiel Software.

**Most active stocks**

Hapadim	1,649	1578.5m.	+16
Leumi	2,393	1551.9m.	+21
First International	374	1542.4m.	n.c.
Turnover in stocks		IS1,069.4m.	
Turnover in convertibles		IS12.9m.	
Bonds		IS223m.	

### Kuwait's investment income this year outstrips oil revenue

**KUWAIT (Reuters).** — Kuwait's income from foreign investments is expected to outstrip its oil revenue this year for the first time, a leading commercial bank said yesterday.

The National Bank of Kuwait said in an economic report that foreign investments and other current assets of about \$75 billion at the end of 1982 were expected to generate annual income of between \$7b. and \$7.5b.

This would more than offset the drop in oil revenues brought about by lower oil prices and enable the government to meet its expenditure requirements, it said.

The bank said unsettled conditions in the international oil market meant Kuwait's oil revenues might not reach \$7b. this year, compared with about \$8.5b. in 1982.

Shilimor 1000 828 n.c. -5.6  
Shilimor 2000 788 n.c. -5.6  
Shilimor 3000 748 n.c. -5.6  
Shilimor 4000 708 n.c. -5.6  
Shilimor 5000 668 n.c. -5.6  
Shilimor 6000 628 n.c. -5.6  
Shilimor 7000 588 n.c. -5.6  
Shilimor 8000 548 n.c. -5.6  
Shilimor 9000 508 n.c. -5.6  
Shilimor 10000 468 n.c. -5.6

Shilimor 11000 428 n.c. -5.6  
Shilimor 12000 388 n.c. -5.6  
Shilimor 13000 348 n.c. -5.6  
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Shilimor 15000 268 n.c. -5.6  
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Shilimor 17000 188 n.c. -5.6  
Shilimor 18000 148 n.c. -5.6  
Shilimor 19000 108 n.c. -5.6  
Shilimor 20000 68 n.c. -5.6

Shilimor 21000 28 n.c. -5.6  
Shilimor 22000 18 n.c. -5.6  
Shilimor 23000 8 n.c. -5.6  
Shilimor 24000 18 n.c. -5.6  
Shilimor 25000 28 n.c. -5.6  
Shilimor 26000 38 n.c. -5.6  
Shilimor 27000 48 n.c. -5.6  
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Shilimor 30000 78 n.c. -5.6

Shilimor 31000 88 n.c. -5.6  
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Shilimor 35000 128 n.c. -5.6  
Shilimor 36000 138 n.c. -5.6  
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Shilimor 55000 328 n.c. -5.6  
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Shilimor 61000 388 n.c. -5.6  
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Shilimor 70000 478 n.c. -5.6

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Shilimor 75000 528 n.c. -5.6  
Shilimor 76000 538 n.c. -5.6  
Shilimor 77000 548 n.c. -5.6  
Shilimor 78000 558 n.c. -5.6  
Shilimor 79000 568 n.c. -5.6  
Shilimor 80000 578 n.c. -5.6

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Shilimor 86000 638 n.c. -5.6  
Shilimor 87000 648 n.c. -5.6  
Shilimor 88000 658 n.c. -5.6  
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Shilimor 95000 728 n.c. -5.6  
Shilimor 96000 738 n.c. -5.6  
Shilimor 97000 748 n.c. -5.6  
Shilimor 98000 758 n.c. -5.6  
Shilimor 99000 768 n.c. -5.6  
Shilimor 100000 778 n.c. -5.6

Shilimor 101000 788 n.c. -5.6  
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Ari Rath  
Editor and  
Managing DirectorTHE JERUSALEM  
POSTErwin Frenkel  
Editor

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## Picking up the pieces

DOES Jordan's retreat from its intention to enter into peace talks based on the Reagan Plan now doom the plan? Yesterday in Jerusalem voices were heard happily predicting that outcome. But only briefly: the euphoric sentiment soon gave way to a more sober assessment.

King Hussein's cabinet ascribed the decision not to any Jordanian change of mind about the presidential initiative, but to the scrapping by the PLO of an agreement reached on the subject between the king and Yasser Arafat. The PLO, at the last moment, apparently concluded that it could not trust Hussein, not even in conjunction with non-PLO Palestinians, to represent the demand for a Palestinian state. President Reagan, for his part, put the blame on "radical elements of the PLO" that "have introduced changes in the proposals that have been made."

Those proposals themselves were in fact in the nature of a compromise between Mr. Reagan's ideas and the plan put forward at Fez. But they reflected Jordanian acceptance of at least some ingredients of the presidential initiative — which had been rejected *in toto* by Israel. The announcement from Amman indicated that, while Jordan would for the moment avoid any diplomatic action, it did not turn its back on the Reagan Plan.

The reason is not hard to decipher. The core of the Reagan Plan is the proposed "association" between the West Bank (and Gaza) and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. This, in effect, is only a fresh wrinkle on the Americans' traditional reading of Resolution 242 as a mandate for the restoration of Jordan's control over the Palestinian territories west of the river. The novelty of Mr. Reagan's approach has largely been to underline the requirement that any such act of restoration must take due account of the territorial aspects of Israel's defense.

Mr. Reagan's evident assumption has been that his plan would nevertheless prove congenial to King Hussein. This, because the Jordanian monarch is not prepared to permanently abandon the West Bank (and Gaza) Palestinians to their fate, if only out of regard for the stability of his throne. The assumption proved to be correct.

Washington and Amman may still not see eye to eye on some matters — such as the necessity, or at least the duration, of a transitional period of autonomy, before the final status of the territories is decided upon. But there is mutual understanding between them on the shape the final status would take. There is no such understanding between Washington and Jerusalem, and there will be none so long as Israel insists on its right to make Judea and Samaria Jewish — meaning Israeli — through settlement.

The U.S. has never conceded that Judea and Samaria — and Gaza — could, in their entirety, be earmarked as areas of Israeli sovereignty. Mr. Reagan's call for a freeze on Israeli settlement activity in his September 1 address was only a belated response to a patent effort by Mr. Begin's government to preempt the result of any future negotiation on "final status" in Israel's favour.

It is not very likely that Mr. Reagan will now sanction such settlement activity in angry reaction to the upsetting news from Amman. There is, indeed, no sign that the Reagan Plan is about to be buried; this would only compound America's defeat, over which the Syrians and the Russians are obviously crowing. Continued commitment to the plan is not simply a matter of prestige for the president; it is an issue of national interest for the U.S.

In the short term, the present gap between Washington and Jerusalem might conceivably be narrowed, for a number of compelling practical reasons. The value of the Jewish-American vote is rising with the approach of the presidential elections. Israel's strategic importance is underlined by the deepening Soviet penetration into Syria. Dropping oil prices are depriving the Arabs of their most powerful political weapon. And an agreement on withdrawal from Lebanon, expected soon, would help ease tensions all around.

But it would be foolhardy to build too much, for too long, on these considerations.

## Prescription for health care

By MACABEE DEAN

THE STRIKE of Israel's 8,500 salaried doctors bears all the insidious hallmarks of leading to a nationalized medical service. It also poses a riddle: where have all the patients gone?

Just a few months ago — by some strange coincidence a short time before the strike — the doctors termed the situation in the hospitals "catastrophic." There was general agreement in the media about this, and many heart-rending descriptions were written of conditions in the emergency wards. Health Minister Eliezer Shostak owned that the situation, although not exactly pleasant — it is an accepted generalization that it is never pleasant to be sick — fell far short of a catastrophe. Nobody believed him, since he was an interested party defending his political guardianship over the country's health services.

The hospitals, even if only manned by emergency staffs, seem to be coping. No huge queues have formed outside the alternative medical stations to pay the fee of IS600; and the "strike-breaking doctors" among the medical profession are not numerous, although their daring has reaped newspaper headlines.

Even if the "catastrophe" was brilliantly staged, it does not detract from the fact that for years the medical delivery services in Israel have been suffering from a chronic disease.

The doctors saw far too many patients whose complaints were often ridiculous. Some doctors estimate that 40 per cent of their patients are not sick; and about half of these know it. Why does Israel lead the world in patient-doctor visits?

TO ANSWER this question, one must go back to the ideology of the founding fathers of Israel's largest medical service, the Histadrut's Kupat Holim. Of the 8,500 doctors on strike, about 5,000 work there; so do 10,000 nurses and paramedical workers; it runs 1,258 clinics and 14 hospitals; and it has 3,120,000 members — a majority of all Israelis.

The founding fathers believed in two things: if newcomers to the country were to stay in a "hostile" climate — malaria has virtually disappeared since then — they would need excellent medical help; moreover, the founding fathers believed in social justice, not only equal wages, but also equal medical treatment for all.

It was a wonderful idea when the majority of newcomers were idealists; but not many in the huge influx of immigrants thought in terms of socialism and idealism, and this created a new situation.

Since medical services were "free" — a compulsory monthly deduction may not be free, but it is a shame not to exploit it — patients began to abuse the medical care system, running to doctors for the slightest reason.

It is easy to ask why doctors didn't simply kick out the hypochondriacs. Well, hypochondriacs get just as often as other people, though they may think they are sick 10 times as often. And if a doctor should refuse to take time for someone who is really sick, then all hell would break loose.

Why didn't the Histadrut impose some sort of limit on all those thousands of patients who run to their doctors with a scratch or a headache, instead of walking to their medical cabinet for a dab of iodine or an aspirin?

The Histadrut not only wanted to keep its members healthy, but also to indoctrinate the hundreds of thousands of newcomers. It wanted to keep as many people as possible within its sphere of influence. Its sick fund was an excellent means. Kicking out patients with minor complaints would spoil this plan.

As part of its social justice pattern, the Histadrut also ruled that doctors' wages would be equal to those of everybody else. This helped to keep the sick fund's expenses down and also kept research at a miserable minimum.

THE DOCTORS, however, never considered themselves labourers, but professionals. They wanted higher pay. In truth, the Histadrut never considered them to be labourers either, in view of the curious fact that the labour federation, fighting against exploitation of the working classes, never believed in the doctors having the same work conditions as other workers.

Can anyone imagine the Histadrut demanding that a bus driver begin to drive at 8 a.m., drive through the entire day, the entire evening, the entire night, and then another entire day? Any Histadrutnik would agree that after eight hours behind the wheel, a driver's sense of judgement is impaired. So, why not a doctor's?

## READERS' LETTERS

## A CIVIC PROPOSAL

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — Bravo for Daniel Elazar's "A civic proposal" (April 5). Indeed there are the Israeli rich who have at least as much of an obligation to the "collective but non-political aspirations" of the Jewish People as Diaspora Jewish contributors have to the United Jewish Appeal. The UJA as a one way flow of funds from the Diaspora to Israel is demeaning, counter-productive and ultimately corrupting. But as a united project of the Jewish People, including Israelis, it could be a much more effective means for strengthening Jewish life.

DR. EUGENE WEINER  
Haifa.

## SELECTIVE POISON

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — If as Yasser Arafat claims we really did succeed in inventing a selective poison gas which, whether released in a room or in the streets of a town, poisons schoolgirls only and does not affect their brothers or parents — its inventor should speedily register his patent rights.

HANS MEIR NATH  
Haifa.

## JERUSALEM'S HISTORY

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — Your contributor, Jeff Halpern, in his interesting article, "Evolution of a city" (March 11) seems to be a keen student of Jerusalem's history, but less so of general history, apparently. The road to Jerusalem built in 1869 could not have been built to accommodate the carriage of the German Emperor Wilhelm, who was at that time the nine-year-old son of the expected heir to the Prussian Kingdom. The German Empire was created only two years later. His "important visit" to Palestine, in fact, took place in 1898, well remembered by the readers of Theodor Herzl's diaries and students of Zionist history. The road to Jerusalem was built in 1869 by the Ottoman authorities to accommodate the visit of Emperor Francis Joseph of Austro-Hungary, who, as King of the Holy Empire, visited Palestine after attending the opening of the Suez Canal.

K. GRUNWALD  
Jerusalem.

## JEWISH VALUES

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — Had the rabbinate in previous generations acted on Zeev Katz's advice to "develop an enlightened and modern Judaism which would answer the basic needs of the secular Jewish people today" (March 28), there would be no Jewish people today. "As much as the Jewish people has kept the Torah, the Torah has kept the Jewish people" applies as much, if not more today than it ever did.

ERICA GARB  
Jerusalem.

## RADIO NEWS IN ENGLISH

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post: Sir, — I refer to Lionel Manuel's letter of March 18 regarding TV news.

In this hotel (The Tel Aviv Sheraton), the radio broadcasts BBC World Service and also radio news from Jordan. The English news bulletins broadcast six times daily on Kol Yisrael are not relayed.

I have asked the management to remedy this glaring omission, as it is possible for unsuspecting listeners to be misinformed as to the origin of the English bulletin to which they may be listening.

There is not much point in the Israeli Government constantly saying the media misrepresents its views and actions when it doesn't do anything to ensure that hotels reach visitors with Kol Yisrael news bulletins, not only in English, but other languages.

MAURICE MICHAELS  
Tel Aviv (Brighton, U.K.)

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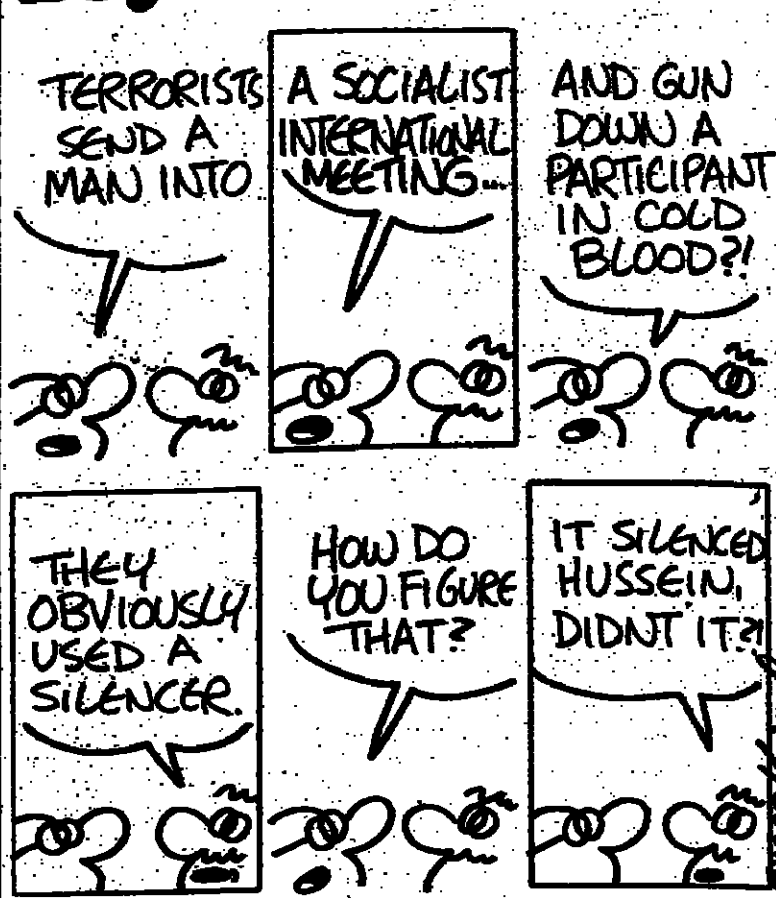
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## Dry Bones



not free themselves of their political aspirations.

It may sound ridiculous, but one solution is to shorten the work week of doctors and let them engage in other work. For example, if each young doctor in Tel Aviv, on his way to the hospital in the morning, would stop to write a ticket for parking on the pavements, he could earn the city IS2,500 under the recent proposal upping the fine. If he only gave out 20 tickets a month, and if he was allowed to keep half the sum, he could easily earn IS25,000 a month. This is about what he gets paid now for working a 60-hour week. Thus, his income would be approximately doubled.

A second solution is to restructure the health services so as to eliminate visits to a doctor for a scratch or a headache, and so on. Even a slight fee — about the price of a pack of cigarettes, IS30 or so, would reduce the number of patients immensely.

The income would help the Histadrut's Kupat Holim's budget; it would give the doctors much more time, which could be spent on really tending to the sick, or in letting them expand their private practices. There is nothing wrong with a two-tier medical service: it would in fact be a natural development of the existing one.

Clinics would continue to function for those who desire this type of medical delivery service; others could take out "medical insurance," patterned after the American experience, which would cover only the costs of serious ailments and hospitalization.

A third solution is to start selling the country's medical services to "health tourists." People would combine a visit with a thorough medical check-up, or even treatment for certain ailments. There is no reason for Israel to go to the

U.S. for complicated heart operations; let the Americans come here.

CREATING a medical industry would require large initial outlays, but probably no more than the funding which every year goes into R & D for Israel's science-based industries.

It would mean totally overhauling the country's medical institutes and hospitals. Some of them may be first-rate, but the majority are second-rate, and even third-rate. (If they were as good as Israeli believe they are, there would be a huge influx of young doctors coming to study here, as Israelis today go to the U.S.)

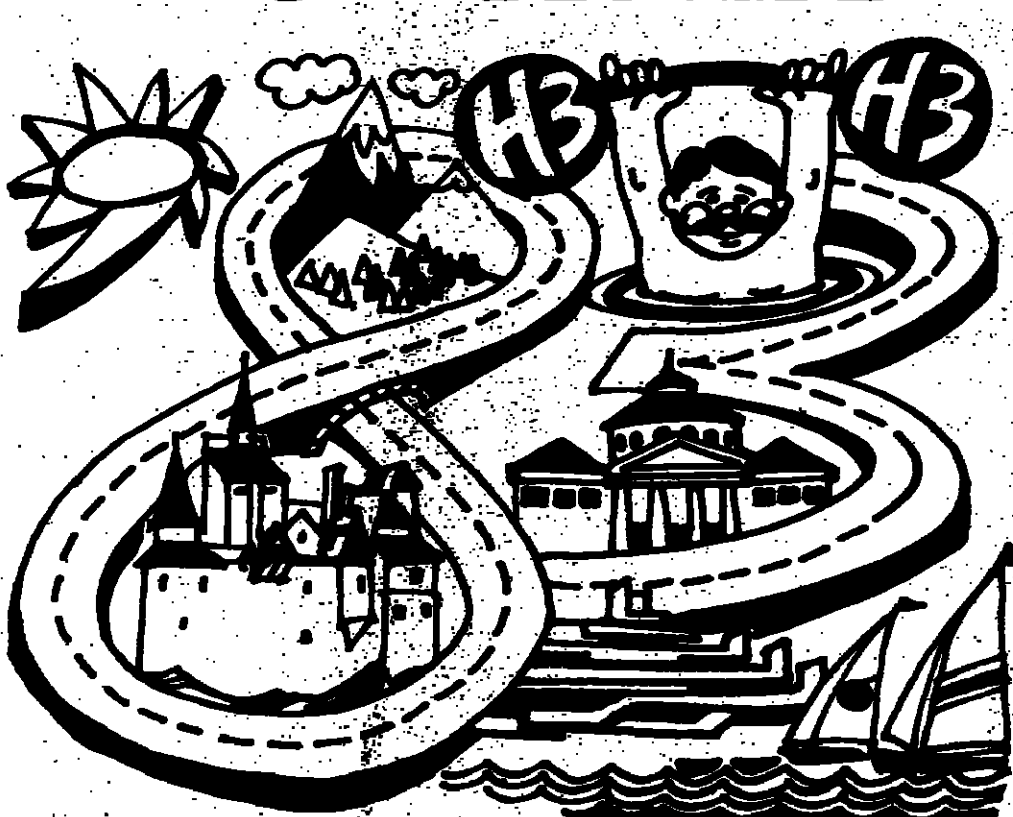
Another aspect would be the introduction of more and more specialization, gradually switching from the idealized idea of the "general practitioner." The concept of the G.P., or family doctor, or first-line (sometimes "front-line" medical practitioner) is outdated.

A medical industry would provide higher pay for the doctors; and if any other sector would demand the same type of pay, all they have to do is take the same type of examinations.

Socialized medicine would indeed suffer if a medical industry were established, but not as much as it is believed, for the specialists would be dependent on expensive instrumentation, on meticulous tests and these can only be found in institutions such as those run by Kupat Holim Clalit. It would demand as payment that the doctors devote a considerable portion of their time to ordinary persons without "interesting diseases" in return for the right to use the hospitals.

The writer is a staff member of The Jerusalem Post.

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